

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

'Bloody Sunday' ignites massive Irish protests

— pages 6, 24



British occupation troops in Derry, Northern Ireland, attack Catholic demonstrators, Jan. 30. Massacre resulted in 13 civilian deaths.

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WEATHER MODIFICATION' LATEST U.S. WEAPON: The Nixon administration has introduced a frightening new kind of warfare in Indochina—using the science of weather control for military purposes. Last March 18, columnist Jack Anderson reported that a secret document had revealed the existence of a cloud-seeding project. Known by the code name "Intermediary-Compatriot," it has been causing undue rain and mud in areas used by liberation forces to transport supplies. The Pentagon has since admitted responsibility for the project. Moreover, it is possible that the unprecedented flooding that wreaked havoc on North Vietnam last summer was at least partially caused by the U.S. Air Force. The Pentagon, in response to inquiries from Senator Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), has refused to comment on "weather modification activities against the North Vietnamese." Senator Pell says he will conduct hearings on the subject and will propose a treaty to ban "all forms of geophysical and environmental warfare."

SOLIDARITY WITH ZIMBABWE: African students and U.S. supporters picketed the British Consulate in San Francisco Jan. 25, demanding an end to white-settler rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and an end to police attacks on Blacks protesting the British attempt to continue white minority rule there.

A statement was read by a representative of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which condemned the British as responsible for the killings of African demonstrators. It demanded the recall of the British Commission now in Zimbabwe; release of all political prisoners, including ZANU President N. Sithole; an end to the ban on that organization; suspension of the present and proposed Rhodesian constitution; and a referendum on the basis of one person, one vote.

SPIRO MADE HONORARY MOLE: Vice-president Agnew recently spoke to the Moles, a national association of construction workers. He defended U.S. war policies and denounced the Democratic Party aspirants to the presidency for their "reckless partisan rhetoric." He called for unity "in which politics stops, both overseas and here at home, where national interest begins." Agnew was rewarded with a certificate designating him an honorary Mole.

MALCOLM X ON TAPE: This month marks the seventh year since the assassination of Malcolm X. A tape recording suitable for memorial meetings is available. It contains selected speeches by, and interviews with, Malcolm X, as well as memorial speeches by Jack Barnes, national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, and George Breitman, editor of *Malcolm X Speaks* and author of *The Last Year of Malcolm X*.

The speeches by Malcolm include "Prospects for Freedom in 1965," "Malcolm X on WBAI" (interview), and "What's Behind the Harlem 'Hate Gang' Scare?" The entire set is available on two- or four-track extended play tape for \$14 (two-track), or \$6.50 (four-track). Order from National Tape Service, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

AFT LOCAL ENDORSES YOUNG SOCIALIST: Alan Wald, Young Socialist candidate for student senate at the University of California at Berkeley, has been endorsed by American Federation of Teachers Local 1507. This local was organized during the 1964 Free Speech Movement and has a long record of political activity. It represents instructors, teaching assistants and associates, research assistants and readers, plus non-student academic research assistants in more than 35 departments and institutes. Wald is a teaching assistant and shop steward. He is running as part of the Young Socialist slate, composed of supporters of the Jenness-Pulley presidential campaign.

DEMONSTRATION PROTESTS 'WORK-INCENTIVE': About 300 angry welfare recipients demonstrated Jan. 18 outside the Bayridge Social Services Center in New York City. The demonstration was organized by the South Brooklyn-Bayridge Coalition to protest the implementation of the so-called "Incentives for Independence" or "Brownie Point" program. New York officials, in conjunction with the Health, Education, and Welfare Department, want to test the program on the people of South Brooklyn before they implement it statewide.

According to *Militant* reporter Jim Little, the demonstration was militant and well organized. A majority of the demonstrators were Black and Puerto Rican women. They carried signs in Spanish and English calling for "Jobs for All," "End the Brownie Point System," and "Free Community-controlled Child-care Centers."

The new program is really forced labor at rock-bottom wages. It is designed to further exploit the most oppressed and to drive people off welfare without necessarily providing jobs. For example, young people can be forced

into after-school work-motivation programs. Refusal to participate means that a family loses \$12.50 in payments per month. Currently, families receive only \$0.90 per person per day for food. Under the new program, if someone in the family fails to meet one of the obligations imposed, the family loses one point, dropping the food allowance to \$0.70 per person per day.

RADICAL PROFESSOR FIRED AT SIU: Douglas Allen is an assistant professor of philosophy at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale and the faculty adviser to the Young Socialist Alliance, the Peace Committee, and other campus groups. He has been fired by the Board of Trustees, who refused to grant him tenure despite the recommendations of the philosophy department and the president of the university. The following reason was given for this violation of academic freedom: "He (Allen) has been divisive on campus. . . . That a man has a right to freedom of speech, this is true. At the same time, how freedom of speech is used is also important."

Allen is well known at SIU for his opposition to the Center for Vietnamese Studies, part of the U.S. war effort. Massive protests against SIU's complicity with the war were carried out during May 1970. It was that fall when the Board of Trustees first attempted to drive Allen off campus.

As matters now stand, Allen's job will be terminated in June. The American Civil Liberties Union has taken the case and a defense committee is being formed. To obtain further information and to support this effort, write: Doug Allen Defense Committee, University Park, Wright III, Room 110, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

DANIEL BERRIGAN WINS PAROLE: In response to a vigorous campaign demanding parole for Reverend Daniel J. Berrigan, the U.S. Board of Parole has announced that he will be released Feb. 24. Berrigan's health has deteriorated during the more than two years he has been in federal prison. He was slapped with a three-year sentence for burning draft records in protest against the war in Vietnam.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN ASSASSINATION PLOT: Revelations continue to emerge about the plot to assassinate Chicano farm-worker leader Cesar Chavez. The United Farmworkers Organizing Committee has disclosed that John Tudor, identified by a former police informer as the man who delivered a bag of money to pay for the assassination, has left the country. Tudor is related to one of the growers in the Delano, Calif., area. The man allegedly hired to assassinate Chavez, Gene Prochnau, is on trial in Visalia, Calif., on charges of murdering a person involved in a ring of trailer thieves. He has been described by federal officials as "a professional assassin."

Despite these and other revelations substantiating the charge that there has been a plot to kill Chavez, no action has been taken by the federal government since an investigation by the Internal Revenue Service's Firearms, Tobacco, and Alcohol Control division was called off last fall.

Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, announced Jan. 26 that the California UAW is adding \$10,000 to the reward fund for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those involved in this plot. He also joined the farm workers union in demanding a federal investigation.

THE FREE WORLD: The military dictatorship in Greece is distributing a list of "Communist and Antigovernment" books to intimidate Greek bookstores. Censorship was supposedly lifted in 1970, but all "antigovernment" writings are still banned. The list of 124 books includes the "anti-American" *Pentagon Papers*, and Norman Mailer's *Armies of the Night*, which is said to represent "Trotskyism." Leon Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* has "Trotskyist content." Playwright Peter Weiss is said to be a Trotskyist for one work and a New Leftist for another. Political sophistication may be lacking, but the intent of this list is clear: civil liberties will not be allowed in this bastion of the "free world."

NEW YSA POSTERS: "Write Women Back into History" is the theme of a special set of posters now available from the Young Socialist Alliance. The four posters are of Louise Michel, a French revolutionist; Lucretia Mott, a leading abolitionist and suffragist; Ida B. Wells, Black suffragist and civil rights leader; and Virginia Woolf, British feminist writer. The posters come inside a folder that lists some of the women who have made important contributions to human progress.

This series of women's history posters is available for \$2 per set for fewer than 20, and 60 cents per set for 20 or more. To order, write the YSA near you, or YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

—JOEL BRITTON

Militant sub team sellers relate impressions of campus mood

By LEE SMITH

I was able to talk to some of the people who participated in the four national subscription sales teams during last fall's successful subscription drive. I asked them for their impressions of the mood on campuses across the country and how *The Militant* was received.

Steve Bloom, who sold 312 subscriptions on campuses in Texas and Louisiana during three weeks with the Southwest team, opened the discussion. He said that "The radical sentiment that exists often lacks a coherent form of organized expression, but the interest in radical political ideas is higher than ever."

Bloom and the others I talked to ranked the Attica rebellion, the campaign to free Angela Davis and the fight by women for the right to abortion as the three issues firing "virtual universal concern" on campuses this fall.

Dave Salner, who traveled with the Southern subscription team through Virginia, North and South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana sold 903 subscriptions. He agreed with Bloom that there was a lack of organized expression of radical sentiment. "The radicalization tended to express itself through the forms that did exist on campus—especially through student governments and newspapers." Salner mentioned the experience at North Carolina Central University, a predominately Black school, where the student newspaper was fighting the administration's attempt to censor it "because the editors had advocated Black control of the school in order to use it as an organizing base in the struggle for Black liberation."

Debby Woodroffe sold 1,004 subscriptions during nine weeks on the Mid-Atlantic team, which traveled through upstate New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. She said her team also encountered the phenomenon described by Salner. "For example, on some of the campuses the sororities functioned as women's liberation groups. We also ran into several campus ACLU chapters that played a role something like the old SDS campus chapters. They were more than ACLU groups—they were political organizers—but that was the form they took.

"When we did find organized groups, they were most often Black, women's, or gay groups. Of course, they were usually smaller than the sentiment actually provided a base for."

Terry Hillman, who sold 731 subscriptions while she was on the Southern team, and Salner agreed that they found Black, women's and gay groups on campus more often than they found antiwar groups, although they encountered almost no one who supported the war. Eva Chertov, who sold 485 subscriptions traveling with the Western team through California, Arizona, New Mexico, Kansas, and Missouri, also agreed but added that "in the Southwest, every campus has a Chicano organization of some kind, even where there are very few Chicano students at a school."

Chertov said the relative lack of antiwar organizations on campus was one of the things that brought home to her the importance of increasing the circulation of *The Militant*. "I kept running into people," Chertov said, "who were angry as hell about the war. But because of the media black-

out on the actions, they hadn't heard that there were going to be demonstrations in 17 cities Nov. 6. When they found out about how the commercial media had suppressed this news, they got even angrier."

According to Woodroffe, some students on campuses where there was little organized activity immediately understood that *The Militant* could act as an organizing vehicle on their campuses because of its national news and its analysis of the antiwar, women's liberation, and other movements.

The six team members didn't see much evidence of organized right-wing groups, such as Young Americans for Freedom, on the campuses they visited. The closest thing to an organized right-wing, they all said, were the "Jesus freaks." Chertov said that "Many of these 'Jesus people' quite consciously counterpose themselves to radical or antiwar activity, as an alternative 'revolution.'" She said that at one campus in the Southwest, they were distributing religious tracts at a table beneath a banner reading "The Permanent Revolution."

There was virtually no red-baiting, according to the sub sellers. In fact, said Sally Moore, who sold 602 subscriptions on the Mid-Atlantic team, "it was just the opposite. People would bring up Russia and China and Cuba, not to bait, but because they were genuinely interested in finding out more about these societies, about what a planned economy would mean in this country."

Moore said that on the rare occasions when she did run into red-baiting from a student, it usually worked to her advantage. Students listening to us debate reactionaries often bought

Continued on page 22

Renewal drive builds YSJP, YSA

By MIKE LUX

Ninety-three new readers of *The Militant* renewed their subscriptions last week, bringing the total to 235 renewals so far.

In addition to increasing the long-term circulation of *The Militant*, areas working on the renewal drive are obtaining endorsements for the 1972 Socialist Workers Party election campaign, finding people who want to learn more about socialism, and discovering subscribers who want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Kim Allen, renewal drive director in Los Angeles, reports that in the course of visiting the first 17 subscribers, 10 people endorsed the Jenness-Pulley campaign, nine renewed their subscriptions, and three asked to be called for the next YSA meeting. "We ran into the coordinator of the McGovern campaign at Occidental College, who agreed to debate a Young Socialist for Jenness and Pulley. He was a roommate of a subscriber. One subscriber renewed, and she and four other roommates and friends endorsed the campaign. One team sold a joint renewal to *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*, three introductory *Militant* subs, two *How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.* by Peter Camejo, and got two campaign endorsers—all from seeing two subscribers!"

Meg Bursaw and Chris Rayson from Oakland-Berkeley sent in an encouraging report. Of 51 new readers visited last week, eight renewed for one year and two renewed for six months. This is a 20 percent renewal rate. In addition, two one-year *ISR* renewals and five introductory subs to the *ISR* or *The Militant* were sold.

Since it is often difficult to find subscribers at home, some areas have made "Militant calling cards," which they leave at the door with information on who came by, where they can be reached, when they will return, and on coming events such as forums and classes.

Small *Militant* letterheads (5" x 8") can be obtained from the business office to use for mimeographing local calling cards. Also, attractive brochures describing the free book offer are available on request. These materials can be ordered from the *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The geographic expansion of *The Militant* is being reflected in the renewal campaign as readers who were reached by the national sales teams in the fall are now beginning to resubscribe. One reader from Charlottesville, Va., writes, "Enclosed is \$6 for one year of *The Militant*. The book I wish to receive is *Their Morals and Ours*. . . . Meanwhile, keep up the good work. Yours is the best radical newspaper I have yet read."

The free book most often requested is Ernest Mandel's *Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory*.

If your subscription has expired but no one has visited you, don't wait—renew now by clipping the ad on this page and sending it in to *The Militant*.

What Nixon doesn't tell you about his "New Economic Policy"...

The Militant does. RENEW NOW

Free book offer

With a one year renewal to *The Militant* you can choose any one of the following books at no extra cost:

- () 1. **BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY** by Malcolm X.
- () 2. **PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION** by Evelyn Reed.
- () 3. **TWO PAMPHLETS ON THE LABOR MOVEMENT: The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class** by Ernest Mandel and George Novack; and **Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions**.
- () 4. **GIs SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR** by Fred Halstead.
- () 5. **INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY** by Ernest Mandel.
- () 6. **THREE PAMPHLETS ON THE CHICANO STRUGGLE: Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth; La Raza Unida Party in Texas; and La Raza! Why a Chicano Party? Why Chicano Studies?**
- () 7. **THEIR MORALS AND OURS** by Leon Trotsky, John Dewey, and George Novack.

While the Nixon administration and the Congress are stabbing the dock workers in the back for defending their standard of living, public transportation fares are raised. When phone workers in New York go out on strike, they are told their demands are inflationary—yet the Price Commission allows a 9 percent increase in the telephone rates. Nixon promised to lower unemployment, but we have seen the official rate remain above 6 percent, while prices continue to rise. Nixon said wages cause inflation—*The Militant* showed how inflation is caused by war spending. The *Militant* supports the struggles of the American workers against the wage controls. Renew now so you'll be able to read *The Militant* every week.

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JDL hooligans in N.Y. attack

By ARTHUR HUGHES

NEW YORK — The reactionary Jewish Defense League broke up a mass meeting of the District No. 1 School Board of Manhattan's Lower East Side on Jan. 26. Seven hundred people from the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities had gathered at Public School 19 to voice support for their right to take control of the schools in the district. More than 90 percent of the students in the district come from these oppressed nationalities.

The 45 Zionist hooligans, chanting "Never again" and carrying an Israeli flag, took over the speaker's platform and prevented the meeting from continuing. They provoked a violent confrontation with members of several Puerto Rican community groups. When the fight boiled over into the street, the police arrested two Puerto Ricans, even though they were informed of the JDL's intentions at the meeting. No JDLers were arrested.

It is now clear that the JDL has joined forces with the white school board minority, the leadership of the United Federation of Teachers, and the Italian-American Civil Rights League to prevent Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools in the area.

Although white voters are still a majority of the registered voters in this district, most of them are older residents with no children in the schools. Puerto Ricans make up 70 percent; Blacks, 16 percent; and Chinese, 6 percent of the school population. Yet non-parents mobilized by the teachers union leadership elected the school board.

The reactionary forces have lost their majority on the school board through resignations and defections. But the three remaining white members of the board boycotted this meeting as they have boycotted others in the past, thereby blocking a "legal" quorum.

The white secretary of the board claimed they were absent this time because they had received reports that the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican group, were going to take over the meeting. This false accusation led one of the Puerto Rican board members to state that there was collusion between the white minority and the JDL to prevent the functioning of the board.

In previous mass meetings, in particular one held Jan. 19 at Junior High School 22, the antagonism against the white board members and the UFT leadership has focused on the question of the two vacancies on the board. According to the bylaws of the board, a five-vote majority of the full nine members must be obtained to pass any resolution, whether or not the board has any vacancies or absent members.

The UFT leadership has used this minority veto power to prevent rising community militancy from gaining any more expression on the board. The board's chairwoman, one of the three whites on the board, has used the rules to turn meetings into a charade of democracy. Even prior to the JDL disruption, principals, teachers, and members of the Italian-American Civil Rights League clapped and hooted down residents attempting to testify in favor of filling the vacancies with community representatives. The addition of the JDL to the reactionary forces is only the latest and most outrageous attack against the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities in the course of this struggle.

What the Geneva Accords meant to Southeast Asia

By DICK ROBERTS

Point four of President Nixon's eight demands for a "settlement" of the war in Southeast Asia states: "Both sides will respect the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indochina and those of 1962 on Laos. There will be no foreign intervention in the Indochinese countries, and the Indochinese peoples will be left to settle their own affairs by themselves."

Why does Nixon invoke the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Accords? Would new agreements of this type really guarantee the Indochinese people against continued U.S. intervention?

The Geneva Conference in mid-1954 was convened by the United States, France, Britain, Russia, China, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to negotiate a settlement of the revolutionary war that had raged in Indochina since the end of World War II. The French forces, suffering a grave defeat at the battle of Dienbienphu in April and May of 1954, were near to losing control of Vietnam.

U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles attempted to persuade Paris and London to sponsor a joint escalation of the counterrevolutionary war. But neither these foreign powers nor the U.S. Congress would support such a move. Richard Nixon, then vice-president, even made a "trial balloon" speech calling for unilateral U.S. intervention. This speech, given only one year after the end of the unpopular Korean war, brought an overwhelming outcry of opposition from the American people.

Dulles and his French and British cohorts were forced to the bargaining table. But at Geneva they were able to obtain through negotiations what they had been unable to obtain on the battlefield: a continued outpost for imperialism in Indochina.

This diplomatic victory was enhanced by the treacherous policies of Moscow and Peking. Publicly pretending to support the Vietnamese revolutionaries, Moscow and Peking actually subordinated the revolution to their goal of achieving "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism. The present premier of China, Chou En-lai, was Peking's delegate at Geneva, and he played a prominent role in bending the Viet Minh to accept the imperialists' terms. This has been thoroughly documented by the Pentagon Papers, released in 12 volumes by the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

There were three essential gains for the imperialists at Geneva:

1) The agreement on the 17th parallel as a demarcation line for the regroupment of military forces. This did not divide the country into two nations, a North

early elections. . . . Chou agreed to intervene with the Viet Minh and ask them to speed up negotiations."

Washington had no intentions of abiding by any agreements made at Geneva. This is fully documented by the Pentagon Papers. For example, on July 7, 1954, Dulles cabled the U.S. official in Geneva:

"Since undoubtedly true that elections might eventually mean unification Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh this makes it all more important they should be only held as long after cease-fire agreement as possible. . . . We believe important that no date should be set now and especially that no conditions should be accepted by French which would have direct or indirect effect of preventing effective international supervision of agreement ensuring political as well as military guarantee. . . .

"We consider 'respect' as strong a word as we can possibly employ in the circumstances to indicate our position with respect to such arrangements as French may evolve . . ."

During the Geneva meeting, CIA agents under General Edward Lansdale were carrying out sabotage operations around Hanoi.

The 1954 accords consequently paved the way for the reescalation of the counterrevolutionary war by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in the 1960s. What was required to launch this massive U.S. bombing and troop attack on Vietnam was a pro-imperialist regime in Saigon. This the 1954 Geneva Accords provided. The Pentagon Papers detail the steps taken between 1954 and 1961 for Washington to build up a military base in South Vietnam and to stabilize the Saigon dictatorship.

1962 Geneva Accords

In the 1962 accords, a coalition government was imposed on Laos resulting directly from summit talks between Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna, June 3-4. Unlike Vietnam, where the country was divided, Laos was to be ruled by a "neutralist" government including Pathet Lao representatives. But this formation also served as a screen for continued U.S. military operations against the revolutionary movement.

The CIA never ceased to supply and support the reactionary Royal Lao armed forces, which carried out a coup against the "neutralist" regime. In addition, the CIA used AID (Agency for International Development) as a front for building "its own" mercenary army of Meo Hill tribesmen. The large secret headquarters of the CIA at Long Tieng, subjected to attack last month by the liberation forces, were built long before President Johnson



The 1954 Geneva Conference partitions Indochina

and South, as the imperialists would later claim to justify their aggression. But it did give Washington what it most of all needed: a section of the country occupied and controlled by pro-imperialist military forces.

2) The agreement to postpone for two years the elections for "reunifying" Vietnam. This would allow the imperialists sufficient breathing space to entrench their puppet regime in Saigon and to eventually refuse to hold the elections.

3) The agreement to maintain capitalist governments in Laos and Cambodia, with only two provinces of Laos allowed for the regroupment of the Pathet Lao revolutionary forces and no territory at all for the Khmer Rouge forces in Cambodia.

Chou's role in obtaining these agreements is indicated in the following description from the Pentagon Papers of a secret conversation between Chou and French Premier Mendes-France on June 24, 1954. "Chou said that he recognized that there were now two governments in the territory of Vietnam, the Viet Minh government and the Vietnamese [Saigon] government. . . . Chou clearly accepted . . . the French thesis that there should be two phases: first military and second political, to the eventual settlement of Vietnam. . . . Chou . . . did not press for

escalated the war against Vietnam in 1965.

In the seven years since 1964 that Washington claimed to be bombing the so-called "Ho Chi Minh Trail"—and Nixon is still doing this today—U.S. bombs were actually devastating the regions of Laos controlled by the Pathet Lao. Under the 1962 Geneva Accords, consequently, the Pentagon militarists carried out the heaviest bombing of any country in history.

Thus Nixon's invoking of the Geneva Accords means just the opposite of his hypocritical claim of ending foreign intervention in Indochina. It means that Washington is seeking a new division of Indochina that will allow the imperialists to stay there. In this pursuit, Nixon counts heavily on Chinese and Russian cooperation. This is one of the things he hopes to accomplish on his scheduled trips to Peking and Moscow.

Understanding these ingredients of Nixon's demands for war "settlement" is vital to the antiwar movement. It emphasizes the need for the antiwar movement to continue its pressure for immediate and total withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Southeast Asia. For the central lesson of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva agreements is precisely that the counterrevolutionary war will continue as long as the imperialists maintain their military base.

April 22 protest set for L.A.

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 29—In the wake of President Nixon's eight-point ultimatum, preparations are being escalated for April 22 West, the large antiwar demonstration set for Los Angeles this spring. Nixon's speech has convinced many people of the necessity for a significant action around the demand for immediate and total U.S. withdrawal from Indochina.

A statement read over the radio by National Peace Action Coalition coordinator John T. Williams declared: "At best Nixon's statement is a stalling move, and one that plays a cruel hoax on the prisoners and their families. It means that the bombing will continue, that the U.S. will continue to finance and arm the Thieu dictatorship, and that U.S. troops will remain in Indochina."

The NPAC West Coast steering committee met at California State University at Los Angeles on Jan. 22. After a spirited discussion the committee voted unanimously to hold the West Coast action in Los Angeles, the third largest city in the country, instead of San Francisco, where it has usually

Student antiwar conference
The national student antiwar conference, open to all who are opposed to the war in Indochina, will meet in New York City Feb. 25-27 to make plans for spring antiwar actions culminating in demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles on April 22. Sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the conference will be held at Washington Irving High School, 40 Irving Place (one block north of 14th St., one block east of Union Square). The schedule includes a national Indochina teach-in at 7:30 p.m. on Feb. 25. The conference sessions will begin 10 a.m. on Feb. 26. For further information on housing and registration, contact: SMC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 911, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 741-1960.

been held. Except for the Chicano Moratorium in August 1970, no national antiwar demonstrations have been held here. The steering committee felt that holding the action here would provide a good opportunity to bring new forces into the antiwar movement.

In view of the police attacks on some L.A. demonstrations in the past, most notably the Chicano Moratorium, it was decided that monitoring would be carefully prepared to insure a peaceful, nonconfrontational demonstration.

An April 22 West Committee was set up, which is open to all groups and active individuals interested in building the demonstration. It will make the decisions as to the route and site of the march and rally, and the selection of speakers. The Out Now Coalition, which was the central organizer of the Nov. 6 demonstration here, will become a member of the April 22 West Committee.

The April 22 West Committee is located at 111 N. Vermont, Los Angeles, Calif. Telephone (213) 487-6463.

Democratic 'doves' have no answer to Nixon 'peace plan'

By CAROLINE LUND

According to columnists Evans and Novak, on the evening of Jan. 25, before he presented his new "peace plan," President Nixon told White House aides and legislative leaders privately: "What I'm going to say in my speech is an answer to reasonable people with reasonable doubts about how to end the war, but it is not an answer to those demanding total American surrender."

The Democratic Party "doves" in Congress have behaved like "reasonable people." As the Jan. 27 *New York Times* noted: "In general . . . the critics who have largely set the tone for the Vietnam debate in the Senate endorsed the basic approach in the president's proposal, while expressing reservations about details and remaining skeptical that it would be acceptable to the other side."

This is one of the goals Nixon wanted to accomplish—to silence, or at least blunt, criticism of his war policy from Congress and from the Democratic presidential contenders.

Nixon's proposal was that the U.S. would withdraw its troops from South Vietnam in return for an "internationally-supervised" cease-fire throughout Indochina and "internationally supervised" elections in South Vietnam, as well as return of American prisoners of war and several other conditions. Included in his presentation of the proposal was a strong threat of escalation of the air war if the Vietnamese did not accept his plan.

The response of the "doves" to Nixon's proposal has shown that these Democrats—including the Democratic presidential contenders—do not support the right of Vietnam to self-determination. They do not challenge the right of the U.S. to "negotiate" the future of Vietnam. All of them agree that the U.S. should place some conditions on the Vietnamese—whether it is release of prisoners of war, a cease-fire, or "internationally supervised" elections. If they disagree with Nixon, it is only over how many conditions the U.S. can get away with imposing on the Vietnamese.

Senator Edmund Muskie, the Democratic front-runner, called Nixon's proposal "a welcome initiative," according to the Jan. 27 *New York Times*, and urged "the other side to respond positively." The Jan. 26 *New York Times* reports that Muskie stated he doubted the Vietnamese would accept a cease-fire but added, "It is reassuring that we are at last proposing by a date certain, to withdraw all our forces in Vietnam."

Senator J.W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), who has long had an image of opposition to the war, characterized Nixon's proposal as "fair and generous." "It ought to be accepted," he said, "but I doubt that it will be. If not accepted, I still think we should move out."

Both Muskie and Fulbright put the onus on the Vietnamese for not accepting the proposal, rather than directing their criticisms at Nixon for continuing the war and attempting to determine the political future of South Vietnam.

Senator John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.), a sponsor of the 1970 Cooper-Church Amendment to prohibit American military involvement in Laos and Cambodia, said he thought Nixon's proposal "fair and just." Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) expressed his "disappointment" at the proposal—

again, not because it violated the Vietnamese right to self-determination but because similar proposals have already been rejected by the Vietnamese.

Senator McGovern

Senator George McGovern expressed the opinion that the proposal would not be accepted by the Vietnamese because it did not set a fixed date for withdrawal of all troops. McGovern also stated, according to the Jan. 26 *New York Times*: "At the same time Mr. Nixon was bitterly opposed to the McGovern-Hatfield proposal to end the war, he was at the very same time offering it to the other side." Thus he admits that the proposal he helped initiate in 1970—the Hatfield-McGovern Amendment—in no way contradicted the basic aims of Nixon's proposal—to assert the right of the U.S. to remain in Vietnam and to dictate the political future of South Vietnam.

The Hatfield-McGovern Amendment was proposed during the student upsurge of May 1970 when U.S. troops invaded Cambodia. It set December 1971 as a deadline for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, except in case of an "unanticipated clear and present danger."

Still another prominent "dove," Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) hailed Nixon's plan as a "long step forward," and urged North Vietnam to give "the most serious consideration" to the president's proposal.

Mansfield noted the similarity of Nixon's proposal to his own Mansfield Amendment, adopted three times by the Senate last year.

Senator Humphrey's response was

ican prisoners of war before the U.S. would stop the slaughter and get out of Vietnam. Furthermore, he concedes that "free elections" and a cease-fire are "reasonable" demands and only differs with Nixon in thinking that it is "futile" to try to convince the Vietnamese to accept them.

Kennedy accepts Nixon's assumption that elections held under the Thieu government apparatus would be "free." How could they be free when Thieu's lieutenants would control the army, the government bureaucracy, the internal police and the press, and when the U.S.-subsidized Operation Phoenix takes care of all dissenters, imprisoning or assassinating them?

With his proposal Nixon has temporarily taken the steam out of his critics in Congress and in the presidential race. He has demonstrated that for all their talk about "withdrawal" and "ending the war" the doves basically agree with him that the U.S. should not immediately withdraw but should extract as many conditions as it can from the Vietnamese liberation forces.

But while Nixon may have silenced the "doves" for awhile, there are a great many Americans Nixon would consider "unreasonable people"—Americans who think the U.S. has no right whatsoever to be in Vietnam.

A Nov. 8 Harris poll reported that Americans favor by 2 to 1 "getting completely out" of Vietnam by May of 1972. Fifty-five percent opposed leaving a "residual" force of 50,000, even if this meant the Communists would win. And 70 percent opposed continuing the \$1-billion a year mil-



Democratic Party 'doves' Humphrey, Muskie, Bayh, and McGovern. Despite their 'antiwar' rhetoric, they support U.S. imperialism's aims in Southeast Asia.

that Nixon "on balance had presented a constructive proposal" that "offers a platform for negotiations if North Vietnam wants to negotiate."

Most critical of Nixon's proposal has been presidential "non-candidate" Senator Edward Kennedy, who is reported in the Jan. 27 *New York Times* as saying:

"We do not need an eight-point plan to end the war. All we need is a one-point plan—a complete withdrawal of American ground, sea and air forces by a date certain, in exchange for a return of our prisoners. So long as we try to condition our withdrawal on things like free elections, a cease-fire, or any of the other trappings disclosed last night, reasonable as they may seem, we shall be pursuing the same blind alley in public negotiations that we have followed with such futility in private."

If we look underneath the demagogic, Kennedy's position is basically similar to that of the rest of the doves. His position is not a "one-point plan." He says that the Vietnamese must accept the condition of releasing Amer-

ican prisoners of war before the U.S. would stop the slaughter and get out of Vietnam.

The families of American prisoners of war are another segment of the population that is becoming more and more outspoken for immediate withdrawal as the hollowness of Nixon's peace promises is exposed.

The Jan. 31 *Christian Science Monitor* interviewed three wives of POWs who were formerly staunch Nixon supporters. The *Monitor* reports, "All three are ready now to vote for any candidate of any party who will vow to halt the war immediately and to get out of Vietnam, period."

The only presidential candidates who represent the desires of the majority of Americans on the Vietnam issue are the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party—Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. They are the only candidates who favor immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Indochina as the only just solution for the Vietnamese, the American GIs, and the prisoners of war.

In Our Opinion

'Bloody Sunday'

The outrageous attack on unarmed civilians by British occupation forces in Derry on Sunday, Jan. 30, is another bloody chapter in the long, bitter history of English rule in Ireland. This "Bloody Sunday" must be condemned by all those who support the just struggle of oppressed people to control their own lives.

The massive mobilization of the oppressed Catholic minority of Northern Ireland has been around the most elementary democratic and human rights: one person, one vote; no discrimination in employment or housing; and no imprisonment without charge or trial. The savage repression against this mobilization shows all too clearly the reactionary character of the pro-imperialist government in Northern Ireland.

But the nationalist struggle of the Irish people, which has gone on for more than 300 years, will not be stifled by the murderous attacks of the Protestant police and the British army. The response of the oppressed Catholic minority in Northern Ireland will be, in Bernadette Devlin's words, "to continue the struggle to end this savagery."

The repressive legislation, particularly the Special Powers Act under which internment has been implemented, must be done away with. The special police used against the Catholic communities must be abolished. The population of all Ireland must be permitted the right to choose for itself, without interference from English imperialism, whether it wants to continue the present division or whether it wants a single, united Ireland.

The British occupation troops, who are in Ulster to prop up the hated Stormont government and preserve the privileged status of the Protestant loyalists, must be immediately withdrawn.

Zionist terror

Incidents during the past weeks have demonstrated the serious threat posed by right-wing Zionist terrorists. In New York City a new dimension was added to this Zionist terrorist danger with the killing of a young secretary, Iris Kones, on Jan. 26. Kones was killed, and eight others injured, by an incendiary bomb planted in the offices of Sol Hurok Enterprises, the main agency in this country that arranges cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union.

All evidence points to right-wing Zionists—most probably supporters of the terrorist Jewish Defense League—as the perpetrators of this vicious killing. On the same day as the Hurok bombing, a bomb exploded at Columbia Artists, another booking agency for Soviet performers. Fortunately, no one was hurt. An anonymous phone caller told the Associated Press and the National Broadcasting Company right after the bombings: "Soviet culture is responsible for the deaths and imprisonment of Soviet Jews." The caller also shouted the JDL slogan, "Never again!"

Prior to these bombings the JDL had mounted a campaign of protest against the appearance at New York's Carnegie Hall of a Soviet orchestra. The visit had been arranged by Hurok.

The JDL has denied responsibility for the killing of Iris Kones, but asserted only that the Hurok fire bombing was "not our style," because it involved Americans rather than Russians.

There have been several previous bombings attributed to the JDL and never repudiated by them. These and other instances of JDL terrorist acts against Communists, socialists, Black militants, and Soviet citizens in the U.S.—as well as the JDL's pro-Vietnam war stance—were recounted in the Jan. 28 issue of *The Militant*.

Still another racist hooligan attack was made by the JDL in New York Jan. 26. This time it was against a mass meeting of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese-American parents demanding community control of their school district (see story, p. 4). At this meeting the New York cops arrested two Puerto Ricans attempting to defend the meeting. No JDL members were arrested.

The New York cops and the Lindsay administration have a different standard of justice for right-wing terrorists than for radicals, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans.

It is the urgent responsibility of everyone who opposes these hooligan attacks to demand that Mayor Lindsay take immediate action to bring about the arrest and conviction of Iris Kones' killers.

Letters

Red-baiting in the women's movement

I would like to respond to Carol Lipman's article "Red-baiting in the women's movement," which appeared in the Jan. 28 issue of *The Militant*.

First of all, I agree with Carol that "What is underneath this red-baiting are differences over political perspectives for the women's movement." I have attended many discussions and speakouts against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance to listen to women's objections in order to understand their perspective. But like Carol, I have found that in many instances, rather than explicitly outlining their goals and objections to SWP/YSA, too many women "concentrate on trying to appeal to the fear of socialist manipulation." I find this not only politically incorrect but a great source of indecision, frustration, and confusion.

I don't like the red-baiting I have seen, and can understand why many women in the SWP and YSA feel personally hurt and defensive. I have chosen the women's movement as my lifestyle and will defend it until someone can prove me wrong. The pseudosisterly antics of some women have certainly not convinced me to give up my participation and support of women's liberation organizations in which SWP and YSA women are also participants.

"Political discussion and debate within a movement is one sign that it is alive and developing." I agree again with Carol, and it is unfortunate that there has not been intelligent discussion and debate of objections about women in the SWP and YSA. Carol mentions "SWP's political ideas for the women's movement." If there is a collective political statement about the women's movement for which SWP membership has voted, I would like to see it published so that it can be discussed and debated intelligently.

I have spoken to women in the SWP and YSA, women who are my sisters and with whom I have discussed the women's movement. I do not consider myself having been duped, manipulated, controlled, or brain-washed. Our opinions have been mutually respected and often shared. That they belong to an organization made up by a wide coalition of many peoples, including male people, is not enough "evidence" for me to exclude them from the women's movement, which is not just mine, or yours, or theirs.

From what I have seen, it has almost become an imperative of the women's movement to "state your affiliations" whenever an opinion concerning women is expressed. This is helpful, but I have also seen it used to label as worthless and subversive anything a woman in the SWP or YSA says about the women's movement. The perspective I write from, and will continue to write from, is that of a very independent socialist lesbian feminist, for whatever that label is worth. Sisterhood is powerful, much more so than red-baiting. It just takes some of us longer to realize this.

Constance L. Mayer
New Haven, Conn.

In reply—The position of the Socialist Workers Party on the women's liberation movement and the

origins of the oppression of women is available in a resolution entitled "Toward a Mass Feminist Movement." The resolution, adopted by delegates to the SWP convention in August 1971, was published in the November 1971 issue of the *International Socialist Review*. To obtain this issue of the *ISR*, send 50 cents to: *ISR*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Portugal

The flood of printers ink resulting from Nixon's present cyclonic diplomacy has failed to describe some of the more sinister aspects of the super-statesman's cosmo-politics. Washington's choice of diplomatic mediators has resulted in political and material support for neofascist regimes seeking to crush national liberation struggles.

For a decade the Portuguese government, along with the racist governments of Rhodesia and South Africa, has been universally condemned and diplomatically quarantined for its repressive policies at home and colonial wars in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique. By selecting Portuguese territory for the Franco-American summit and by granting Prime Minister Marcello Caetano an audience, Nixon has breached Portugal's isolation, boosted its sagging morale, and lent the colonial power his tacit support.

Washington's efforts in behalf of Lisbon's African campaigns are not all so subtle, however. Not only does the U.S. arm Portugal within the framework of NATO, but, prior to Nixon's arrival in the Azores, the Portuguese press gloated over Washington's recent promise of economic aid amounting to \$444-million. Undoubtedly, substantial portions of these devalued dollars will be channeled into Portugal's massive pacification programs (incidentally, patterned on U.S. efforts in Indochina) in its African colonies.

S. S.
Lisbon, Portugal

Prisoner likes letters

I find your paper very interesting, especially the letters, which allow the brothers around the country to keep in touch and learn what is happening in these festering sores. Also, I find the section "By Any Means Necessary" very informative because it allows me to get the little-known news of the very harsh oppression that continues each day by the controller and his functionaries.

Your last paper, which reported on the Baton Rouge situation, was very informative; plus, it reminded one of Attica in the actions of trigger-happy demented mental degenerates.

I also concur with your analysis of those two degenerated organs of the ruling class, the Democratic and Republican parties. Their principle of politics in Amerika is oppressive: "The art of politics is compromise." This means automatically the Black, Brown, and Red people are out of it, because what do they have to give up? The only thing that they have had to give up are the brothers in Attica, George Jackson, Malcolm X, and now they want to deal for Angela.

When Black people speak of free enterprise, I do not think we realize what is being said. We are asking for

The Great Society

the right to follow the monopoly capitalists, who exist to destroy the human ingredient in the people by creating starvation, class division, pollution, and injustice to destroy their enemies, which they created by not allowing them any life-affirmative goals.

Take care.

Teka
State Correctional Institution
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Yugoslavia

Recent events following in rapid succession in Yugoslavia would indicate a serious and exhaustive study of this workers state is an imperative order of the day.

First, the film *WR—Mysteries of the Organism*, produced in Yugoslavia and now exhibited in the USA, constitutes an explosive break with the intellectual and artistic rigidity and puritanism customarily associated with Soviet, Chinese, and satellite cultural superstructures. It is not my intent to discuss here at any length the film *WR*. Suffice it to say, I regard it as a powerful and remarkable film, extraordinary in its political, social and sexual emancipation content. Indeed, the entire film breathes a spirit of audacious and uncompromising inquiry unseen hitherto in workers states. That such a film could have been produced in Yugoslavia is an important plus for the regime.

Second, in a brief chance meeting with some Yugoslavian seamen, I was informed that the six-hour day, five-day workweek is universal in Yugoslavia. If this is true, such a reduction of the workweek is a momentous first in the history of organized society, be it feudal, capitalist, or workers state.

Third, it was reported in *The Militant* that Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International, lectured recently in Yugoslavia. This is an almost incredible development in light of the fact that hitherto Trotskyism has always been portrayed and hounded as the arch-devil of counter-revolutionary politics by official Soviet, Chinese and satellite dogma.

Every socialist and progressive would, I believe, welcome an exhaustive Marxist analysis of the Yugoslav state from its inception to the present day. Such a study would seem mandatory for a revolutionary-socialist party.

S. M. Lipman
Boston, Mass.

Puerto Rico

I am a new subscriber to *The Militant*, and I am writing this letter because I would like to see more articles on the Puerto Rican movement in your paper.

I have not yet read an article that deals directly with Puerto Ricans, and I find that we are skimpily mentioned in your articles. I feel you should have more articles covering the Puerto Rican movement here and in Puerto Rico.

Jennie Vega
Woodside, N. Y.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

American folklore—Residents of the Woodland, Wash., area are combing the hills in a treasure hunt for "D.B. Cooper," the hijacker who parachuted from a jetliner with \$200,000. The good folk at Woodland are persuaded he's hanging from some tree there, with the loot nearby. Meanwhile, a local entrepreneur is doing well with a T-shirt showing a parachute floating downward with a bundle. And good returns are reported on a twangy new ballad, "D.B. Cooper, Where are You?"

Hygiene dep't—We've been musing over the report that Howard Hughes keeps a file of business and personal acquaintances in which he rates them for cleanliness. Wonder if he classifies his money the same way?

Self-determination for non-addicts?—The U.S. surgeon general's office pointed to new hazards for nonsmokers in smoke-filled areas. They noted that the carbon monoxide thrown off by coffin nails is as easily ingested by nonsmokers as smokers, and that there can be surprisingly high carbon monoxide levels in smoke-filled rooms. The surgeon general favors segregation of smokers in all public places.

Aiding the underdeveloped—Five tons of rice were contributed to unemployed

workers in Spokane, Wash., by Christians in Japan. Last month another group of Japanese sent a collection of foodstuffs to jobless persons in the Seattle-Tacoma area of the state. Washington has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country, but our government can't afford to help much.

Heavily into Jesus—Damages of \$50,000 were won by the St. James Armenian Church of Los Angeles from parish member John Kurkjian, a real

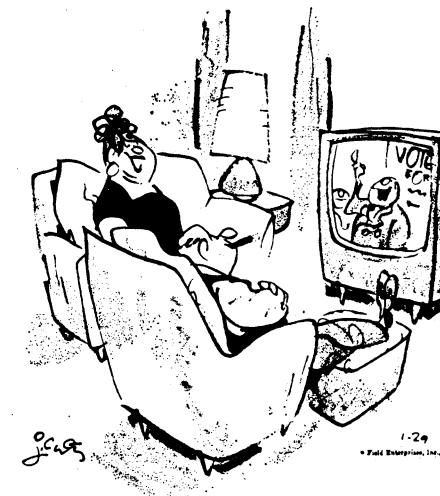
estate operator who handled a \$1-million property transaction for the church. Kurkjian neglected to mention that a fellow church member was receiving a broker's commission on the deal. Earlier, the church won a \$31,000 judgment against Kurkjian for failing to properly account for funds entrusted to him. The money was to help finance the restoration of Christ's sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Hot air no help?—The Senate wing of the Capitol building has sunk about a fifth of an inch in the past 45 years.

Ecology dep't—"The Daughters of the American Revolution, Cabrillo Chapter, will hear Rear Admiral William C. Chambliss, USN, ret., discuss how 'Our Seas Are Turning Red.'"—The Los Angeles Times.

Sees dulling of initiative—Dale Smith, head of a San Francisco outfit that pays a fast 75 cents an hour for distributing advertising circulars, complains: "I'm telling ya, I just can't get men any more. Fifteen years ago I could put an ad in the paper and get 20 or 30 men. Now maybe I get two men out of that. Welfare, unemployment insurance, food stamps, they're all cutting into my labor."

— HARRY RING



"It should give you a lift, Roscoe! . . . listening to the politicians and knowing your problems will be solved next November!"

Women: The Insurgent Majority

BILL AIDS EQUAL EMPLOYMENT FIGHT—A bill is presently being debated in the U.S. Senate that would give enforcement powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the body established in conjunction with Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Title VII prohibits discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, in hiring, upgrading, and all other conditions of employment. At this time, the EEOC has no power to enforce the provisions in Title VII—it can only arbitrate in cases of employment discrimination and attempt to achieve "voluntary" solutions. If the EEOC efforts fail, women, Blacks, Chicanos, and others facing discrimination have no recourse but to take the employer to court at their own expense.

The Senate bill gives the EEOC the power to issue "cease-and-desist" orders to businesses that discriminate and expands its jurisdiction to companies employing eight or more persons and to unions with eight or more members (the present number is 25). It would also apply to employment discrimination in state and local government, although in this case only court action can be taken. A similar bill was introduced into the House last year, but a watered-down version was passed that gave the EEOC only the power to institute court action, a far slower procedure.

On Jan. 26 the Senate defeated an amendment to again limit the EEOC's powers to court action. This vote, according to the Jan. 27 New York Times, "virtually assured that when the bill (is) finally passed by the Senate it would contain the provision allowing cease-and-desist orders." Several other amendments have yet to be voted upon. Assuming the bill does pass, it must then go to a House-Senate conference committee to be reconciled with the House bill.

Passage of the bill will represent a victory for women and national minorities by making it harder for businesses to violate Title VII and get away with it.

REFERENDUM ON SWISS ABORTION LAW—In Switzerland, according to the Jan. 24 Intercontinental Press, 60,000 signatures have been obtained on petitions calling for a constitutional amendment ending restrictions on women's right to abortion. The amendment would read: "There shall be no penalty for interruption of pregnancy." By Swiss law, after a minimum of 50,000 people sign such a petition, the government must submit the proposal to a popular referendum. The government, however, has up to three years to do so. Supporters of the amendment were quoted in the Jan. 6 *Le Monde* as saying:

" . . . abortion is a serious act that should be undertaken after mature reflection and with the assistance of a medical specialist. But each must be free to decide. The law should not impose on those who desire to terminate a pregnancy the views of doctrinaires who put abstract principles above the well-being of their fellows."

FEMALE OFFICIAL DEFENDS ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOVIET UNION—While women in the Soviet Union have almost complete legal equality with men and (for the present) can obtain free abortions on demand, they are still forced to carry out the double role of worker and housewife. The Jan. 19 *New York Times* revealed the reactionary attitude of the Soviet bureaucracy toward women in an interview with Yekaterina Alekseyevna Furtseva, the Soviet minister of cultural affairs and a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. She is the highest-ranking woman in the government apparatus.

"Any woman, no matter what post she occupies," Furtseva asserted, "should remain a woman. She should know how to cook and how to keep house nicely. If she does not, she is not a woman." Furtseva defended the bureaucracy's glorification of "motherhood" when asked by the Times if she favored payment for housewives. "The best payment is of the heart," she responded. She also reiterated the Soviet bureaucracy's insistence on the necessity of the family institution in a society where capitalism has been abolished, saying, "we think that most important, still, is family life. . . . we attach great importance to the responsibility of family upbringing for a child."

Furtseva was careful to avoid mentioning the fact that there is a deepening undercurrent of opposition among Soviet women to the double role forced upon them. This has been brought out most clearly in articles and letters by women that have recently appeared in Soviet papers, such as *Sovetskaya Rossiya* and *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.

CHAUVINIST QUOTE OF THE WEEK—From the want-ad section of the Jan. 27 *New York Review of Books*:

"**WANTED:** Part-time second wife with comfortable apartment. May become first emotionally, remembered in estate. Know how to cook Italian dishes, be reconciled with one or two encounters weekly. Overly intellectual and Women's Lib types do not apply. Competence prose editing would help too. . . ."

— CINDY JAQUITH

By CINDY JAQUITH

The Women's National Abortion Action Conference scheduled for Feb. 11-13 in Boston has been called to plan the next step in the campaign to repeal all abortion laws. In light of the recent legal challenge to the New York abortion law—an attack that threatens the rights of women in every state—the urgency of this conference is clear.

A thorough discussion at the Boston conference of all the different perspectives for fighting the abortion laws can ensure that a strategy emerges to defeat the right-wing in New York as well as the anti-abortion forces in all states.

Some sections of the women's movement disagree with the approach adopted by the previous national

of an unwanted pregnancy, and thus every woman has a stake in repealing the abortion laws. This is why legalization of abortion has the support of the majority of women in this country. It is this issue that has been most successful in bringing women into action and in achieving victories for the women's liberation movement.

The importance of the abortion issue is shown by the fact that the opponents of women's liberation have chosen it as the focus of their attacks on feminism. Anti-abortion groups, the Catholic Church, and local, state, and federal governments are accelerating their campaign to keep women from having the right to control their own bodies. We cannot dismiss these forces lightly, nor can we yield an inch of ground to their reactionary "abortion is murder" propaganda. A victory for the right-wing would not only be a defeat for the

ican, and Asian women, abortion laws are used to justify the practice of forced sterilization. If abortions were legal, it would be much harder for racist doctors and welfare boards to extract the "punishment" of forced sterilization from these women when they seek abortions.

According to the June 30, 1971, *New York Times*, during the first six months under New York's liberalized abortion law, 50 percent of the abortions performed on New York City residents were for Black and Puerto Rican women. Thirty-one percent of the abortions for New York State residents were covered by Medicaid.

The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party support free abortion, as do many women in the feminist movement. But the sharpest political debate going on in the country today is not whether abortions should be free, but whether abortion is the right of every woman.

The slogan "free abortion on demand" focuses attention on free medical care, rather than on legalizing abortions. Imagine, for example, if women in New York had chosen to answer the attacks of Robert Byrd and his anti-abortion forces by calling for free abortion. If the movement raised free abortion as the central demand in the New York fight, it would have obscured the real issue for thousands of women who can potentially be mobilized to defend and extend the right to abortion in New York.

At the July WONAAC conference several women explained how their attempts to organize coalitions around the free-abortion slogan placed limitations on the participation of groups and individuals who do not agree that abortions should be free, but who are willing to support actions for repeal. The conference voted overwhelmingly to make repeal the central slogan of the abortion campaign, because in this way the largest possible numbers could be brought together in action.

Fighting for reforms

The writers in *Off Our Backs* are opposed to the repeal demand because they don't think fighting for reforms is worthwhile. They say in their article: "It is too easy for this country to give women the right to abortion—just as it has been easy for Nixon to 'bring the boys home' and cool-out the antiwar movement—just as it was easy for women to be allowed to vote." This statement flies in the face of reality. Women do not yet have the right to abortion; Nixon has not ended the war in Indochina; and women were not simply handed the right to vote—it took decades of struggle.

If the repeal demand were an easy one to grant, Shirley Wheeler would not have been convicted of manslaughter in Florida for having an abortion. State and federal legislators would not be trying to pass laws to further restrict women's right to abortion, and the overwhelming majority of states would not have laws declaring abortion illegal.

It will take a nationwide campaign that brings masses of women into independent action against the government to win total repeal of the anti-abortion laws. WONAAC must use every means at its disposal, including speak-outs, court suits, legislative action and demonstrations. The Nov. 20, 1971, actions were an important first step in launching this campaign on a national scale. Demonstrations around the concrete demands for the repeal of all abortion and restrictive contraception laws and an end to forced sterilization keep this campaign visible to the public. They make it clear to the millions of women who have yet to join this movement that this is a struggle in their interests.

This spring it may be more difficult than in past years to bring large numbers of women into the streets. Several key women's liberation organizations have made campaigning for Democratic or Republican candidates the central axis of their activity. But it is precisely because there is strong pressure to try to win reforms by supporting either of the two capitalist parties that protests must be built this spring against the abortion laws these two parties support.

These questions deserve full discussion at the Boston conference. A democratic conference, where the ideas of every woman can be heard, will help keep the movement as a whole open to all women. This conference must reaffirm WONAAC's willingness to work with all women, excluding no one because of her political beliefs or for any other reason. The abortion campaign can potentially involve women from all sectors of the population—NOW women, women in the Women's Political Caucus, radicals, socialists, Communists, Democrats, Republicans, church women, students, lesbians, working women, Chicanas, and Black, Puerto Rican, Native American and Asian-American women. United in a democratic, action coalition, we can throw the oppressive abortion laws off the backs of every woman in this country.

Issues before the abortion movement



Photo by Howard Petrik

Washington, D.C., Nov. 20

conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, sponsor of the Boston conference. WONAAC organized the Nov. 20, 1971, demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco around the demands of repeal of all restrictive abortion and contraception laws and an end to forced sterilization. Some of the differences with this strategy are expressed in an article in the December 1971 issue of *Off Our Backs*, a women's newspaper published in Washington, D.C.

The article, entitled "November 20th . . . some reporting, some diatribe, some analysis," devotes most of its space to red-baiting attacks on WONAAC, which the authors claim is "controlled by the SWP [Socialist Workers Party]." Only at the end of the article do the authors explain their political disagreements with WONAAC.

They begin their criticisms with the assertion that WONAAC's focus on one issue—the right of women to control their own bodies—amounts to "ignoring" the other questions that have been raised by the feminist movement. They warn that "the abortion issue cannot stand alone," that by itself it is not "a political issue."

WONAAC should not, and does not, pretend to represent the entire scope of the women's liberation movement. It is a coalition based solely on struggling for the right of women to control their own bodies. Nor does WONAAC say that abortion is the only serious issue before women. Child care, for example, is clearly another important demand, especially with Nixon's recent veto of the child-care bill. Equal pay for equal work, equal education, sexist advertising, victimization of prostitutes—these are just some of the pressing questions the feminist movement deals with. Until all forms of women's oppression are ended, women will not be liberated.

But the existence of our oppression on many different levels does not necessarily dictate that we must, or that we can, launch a struggle against all forms of sex discrimination at one and the same time, or that each struggle waged must raise all the demands concerning women's oppression. The targets we choose depend not only on the ways in which we are oppressed but also on the consciousness of women at any given stage and the size of the movement itself. Together, these factors determine what forces we can bring to bear against any specific aspect of sexism.

The abortion issue is of central importance because as long as women are denied the right to control their own bodies, they cannot control their lives. Every woman in this country faces the threat

abortion campaign but a defeat for the women's liberation movement as a whole.

At the July 1971 conference that founded WONAAC, a group of women felt the abortion campaign should include the demand for "freedom of sexual expression." Some suggested that the program be broadened further to include child care, equal pay, and equal education. What would have happened if WONAAC had tried to wage a struggle around all these issues at once? Women who support abortion law repeal but who are not yet prepared to act on these other issues would have been excluded, and the forces mobilized for action would have been smaller. The remaining core of women who do support these demands would still have strong disagreements on how to fight for them.

United front

To win repeal of the abortion laws, the backing of all women who support the right to abortion, regardless of their stand on other issues, is necessary. A coalition like WONAAC can unite a broad spectrum of women in action around the issue of repeal, even though they have strong disagreements on other issues. Such a united front does not lessen the importance of building other types of women's groups as well. But it does accomplish what no one group could do by itself.

By uniting against the abortion laws we can win a victory that will affect masses of women in this country. If abortions are legal in every state, thousands of women's lives will be saved from back-street abortionists or fatal self-performed abortions. Women will be relieved from some of the fear that now surrounds pregnancy. Such a victory will also raise women's consciousness by showing that they can organize and win. The confidence gained from successfully overturning reactionary abortion laws can be an inspiration to continue the struggle until we have ended all forms of women's oppression.

The writers in *Off Our Backs* not only disagree with the abortion focus of WONAAC, but they also feel that the coalition should call for "free abortion" instead of repeal. They argue that even if the abortion laws are repealed, "poor women will still not be able to afford abortions."

Repeal of the abortion laws would be far from meaningless for poor women. These women are the most affected by the illegality of abortions, which forces them to turn to butcher abortionists or bear unwanted children.

For Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Native Amer-

National abortion meeting to discuss strategy

By SANDRA MAXFIELD

The latest issue of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition *Newsletter* contains several major proposals to be discussed and voted upon at the Second National Women's Abortion Action Conference. The conference, which will take place Feb. 11-13 at Boston University, is open to all interested women. It projects developing a program to unite women in action against recent attacks on the right to abortion and to win the total repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

The conference will open 7:30 p.m. on Friday, Feb. 11, at Hayden Hall, Boston University, with a rally entitled "How To Win Abortion Law Repeal." Among the scheduled speakers are Shirley Wheeler Johnson, the first woman in the United States ever convicted and sentenced for having an abortion; and Sarah Weddington, the attorney who argued for the elimination of the Texas abortion law before the U.S. Supreme Court in the fall of 1971.

Other speakers include Lana Clarke Phelan, vice-president (West) of the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws; Dr. Barbara Roberts, a founder and national project director of WONAAC; Georgia Ware of the National Welfare Rights Organization; and Elma Barrera, organizer of the 1971 Houston Chicana conference.

This is the one session of the conference open to men as well as women. Registration will begin at 5:30 p.m.

The rest of the weekend will be devoted to workshops and plenary sessions, which will assess the progress made since WONAAC was founded in July 1971 and set goals and actions for the months ahead.

A number of WONAAC supporters around the country have submitted a proposal for "Abortion Action Week: May 1-6." The signers of this proposal are Dr. Barbara Roberts; Tina Hobson of Federally Employed Women, Washington, D.C.; Lana Clarke Phelan; Matilde Zimmerman, WONAAC national staff; Shirley Wheeler Johnson; and WONAAC organizers from California, Boston, Houston, Chicago, and Antioch College in Ohio.

The proposal reads in part: "We propose that WONAAC call for an Abortion Action Week, the first week of May, ending with local or regional rallies or demonstrations on Saturday, May 6." It outlines a wide range of activities women can organize in every part of the country around the demands adopted by WONAAC's founding conference: repeal all abortion laws; no forced sterilization; end restrictive contraception laws.

A proposal submitted by the International Socialists calls upon WONAAC to change its "major slogan" to "free abortion on demand—no forced sterilization—free access to contraception." It contains an implementation section that calls for actions similar to those outlined in the "Abortion Action Week" proposal.

The University Action Group (UAG) from Boston has submitted two proposals. The first calls for WONAAC to put more emphasis on its demand for no forced sterilization. It reads in part: "We in UAG think that unless the spirit of this slogan takes equal

emphasis with the desire to end all abortion restrictions, this movement will be used by many groups of racists for their own selective interests." The second UAG proposal calls upon WONAAC to change its emphasis to focus on "women's economic condition," taking positions and acting on welfare legislation, and calling for "free abortion on demand."

Registration will be \$3 for the entire conference. Housing and child care will be available. For copies of the WONAAC *Newsletter* and further conference information, contact WONAAC at 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 843, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 741-0450 or 741-0556.

For information on where and how to register at the conference, contact the Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition at 552 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. Telephone: (617) 547-1818.

Cops arrest 18 at Davis support action

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 1—Eighteen supporters of Angela Davis, including her sister Fania Jordan, were arrested on Jan. 31 as they peacefully demonstrated outside the San Jose courthouse, where pretrial hearings were in session.

The demonstrators were charged with violating a law passed last year by the California legislature. The law forbids picketing near a state court "with intent to influence any judge, juror, witness, or officer of the court."

San Jose police indicate they interpret the law to mean that demonstrations for Davis are banned anywhere in Santa Clara County. Franklin Alexander, a coordinator of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis, told the press after the arrests that this extraordinary and unconstitutional law must be challenged by more demonstrations that would involve thousands of people. Today Alexander was arrested for helping to organize the demonstration.

Davis defense attorney Leo Branton Jr. pointed out in court that the demonstrators outside were "those unable to attend the trial in which they wanted to participate."

Branton said that the size of the courtroom, which permits only 25 seats for the general public, denies Davis her right to a public trial. While moving that larger court facilities be provided, Branton also suggested that the trial proceedings be televised nationally because of the importance and interest in the case.

Selection of a jury will be delayed for several weeks pending completion of a final round of pretrial motions by the defense. The motions charge racial, sexual, political, and class discrimination in jury selection; ask that the trial site be changed from Santa Clara to a less-prejudiced county; petition the state to finance the defense on an equal basis with its financing of the prosecution; and demand that the prosecution reveal all information gathered on prospective jurors from sources that are not available to the defense (such as the FBI and the CIA).

In a related development, on Jan. 27 the California state court of appeals ruled unconstitutional the 1969 firing of Davis from the faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles for her membership in the

Communist Party. The opinion of the court was that previous federal and California Supreme Court decisions stating that membership in the Communist Party cannot bar employment of a teacher are binding.

Four socialist students fight expulsion

By JEFF BERCHENKO

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 1—Fearing publicity about the illegal expulsion of four Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley from the City College of San Francisco (CCSF) on Jan. 20, the administration has scheduled a closed-door appeal hearing on Feb. 3, almost a week before students return for the spring semester.

This latest denial of due process continues the pattern established by the original undemocratic action directed at the four students, Lloyd Kenney, Steve Gabosch, Jeff Berchenko and Joe Ward. They were expelled without notice of specific charges and without a previous investigation or trial.

At first the four were only charged with violations of vague administrative disciplinary regulations—such catchall rules as "obstruction or disruption of administrative functions" and "unauthorized use of the facilities."

The school has now revealed, after pressure from attorneys Chris May and Mike Sorgand of the San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, that these charges stem from an incident in which the YSJP was denied the right to have a campaign banner on a wall. In the same incident YSJPers were physically assaulted by the dean of student activities, Vester Flanagan, and his assistant, Chris Davis.

On Jan. 12, at the height of a campaign for student office, the YSJP hung a campaign banner calling for student-faculty control of the campus on the wall of the cafeteria. Dean Flanagan demanded that it be removed, and cited an unused rule prohibiting any poster on any wall.

Lloyd Kenney, who was running for president of the student body, and Jeff Berchenko, YSJP coordinator on campus, refused to take the banner down. They pointed out that countless posters and banners of all types were hung from the wall in the past, and that the dean was selectively enforcing the rule.

Flanagan and his assistant began ripping the banner down. In the process they pushed and shoved the six or seven YSJPers standing in front of their banner. Berchenko's eye was blackened and the ribs of another YSJPer were bruised.

The "CCSF Four" Defense Committee, headed by CCSF professors Paul Hewitt and Fred Safier, has begun the work of obtaining support from students at CCSF and other campuses in the Bay Area. A petition drive demanding the reinstatement of the four students netted close to 1,000 signatures, even though it was conducted in the last days of finals before semester break. The defense committee is now preparing for extensive petitioning when school reopens Feb. 9.

The YSJP is also planning to build a large meeting for Linda Jenness, 1972 Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, on the campus Feb. 19.

The defense committee has requested that supporters send letters of pro-

test to the school's president, Dr. Harry Buttermer, 50 Phalen Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94112, with copies to the "CCSF Four" Defense Committee, P.O. Box 40501, San Francisco, Calif. 94140.

Phone strike leader at N.Y. forum

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK, Jan. 28—Dennis Serrette, vice-president of the 15,000-member Communications Workers of America Local 1101 and head of the union's strike committee, spoke tonight to a meeting of 60, sponsored by the Upper West Side Militant Forum. When the national telephone strike ended last August, Local 1101 and telephone workers throughout the state of New York stayed out.

Serrette explained that the morale of the 38,500 strikers is still high despite the little support they have received from other unions. Some financial support has come from the International, but most strikers are living on \$75 a week unemployment compensation, while some have been

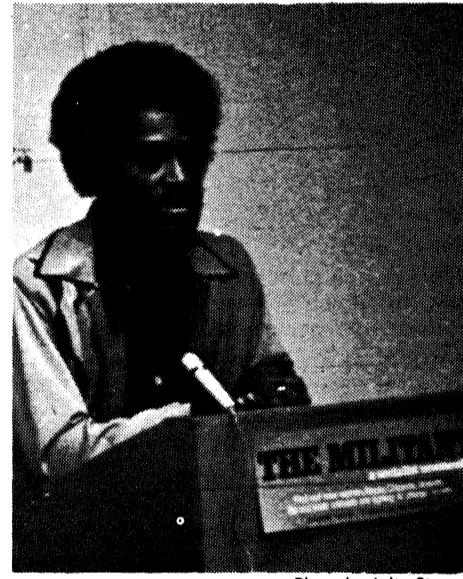


Photo by Julie Simon

Dennis Serrette, vice-president of CWA Local 1101 in New York.

forced to take other jobs. The composition of Local 1101 is about 27 percent Black and Puerto Rican and 60 percent of the members are under 26 years old.

Serrette indicated that the main problem facing the strikers is the hundreds of scabs imported from other areas by the New York Telephone Company. There has been little scabbing on the part of New York telephone workers, however.

It is supposedly illegal to bring in strikebreakers from out of state. Serrette stated that the union is trying to take court action but has run into a legal maze. "We feel that the system has abandoned us," he said.

Joseph Beirne, head of the International, issued a statement recently that the union would accept binding arbitration. However, Serrette said, "Telephone workers have been out six months and are not going back for a sellout or binding arbitration."

The New York locals are demanding wage increases, end of forced overtime, and an end to the six-day work-week.

According to Serrette, the union has asked for support from politicians such as Representatives Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) and Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) but has only received a run-around. A collection of \$25 was taken at the Militant Labor Forum to help the strikers.

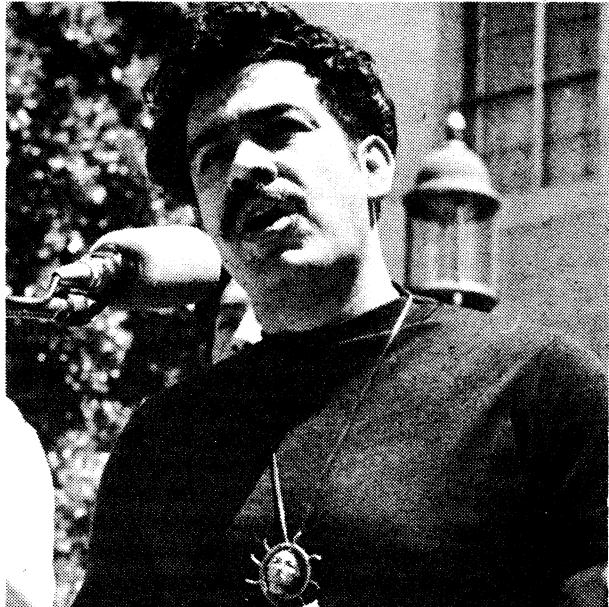
Gonzales jailed on fake charge

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—On Jan. 29, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, principal leader of the Denver-based Crusade for Justice and Colorado Raza Unida Party, began serving a 40-day sentence here on a trumped-up charge of illegal possession of a weapon.

Gonzales had been arrested on the fake charge on Aug. 29, 1970, in the aftermath of the bloody Los Angeles police attack on the Chicano Moratorium. This action was a massive demonstration in which 30,000 Chicanos had sought to peacefully express their opposition to the Vietnam war. It was during the police attack on this demonstration that Chicano journalist Rubén Salazar was killed.

After the police attack had subsided, Gonzales and other Colorado activists were leaving the area in a truck. They were stopped by L.A. police for



Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales

an alleged traffic violation. They were then searched. When it was found that Gonzales, who had the expense money for the group, had \$300 on him, they were held on charges of robbery. The presumption apparently was that any Chicano with that much money must have stolen it.

When they couldn't find anyone who had been robbed, all in the group were released except Gonzales and Alberto Gurulé, then candidate of La Raza Unida Party for governor of Colorado. They were charged with illegal possession of a weapon on the basis of a gun that was in the truck. They were tried even though it was clearly established that neither owned the gun, nor was responsible for its being in the truck. It had been brought along by a member of a defense group assigned to Gonzales because of threats to his life.

In the trial that followed, Gurulé was acquitted and the jury split 10-2 on Gonzales.

Even though it was a misdemeanor charge and Gonzales had no previous police record, Los Angeles authorities pressed for a new trial and last April 1 got a conviction.

The sole "evidence" against him was the assertion of a policeman that when he opened the cab door of the truck, Gonzales had reached down and put his hand on the gun.

This charge occurred to the police only after the "robbery" charge was dropped. There was no mention of it at the time of the original booking. The appeal by Gonzales to the appellate division of the state superior court was denied.

On Jan. 25, Gonzales' attorney, Neil Herring, applied to the California Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus. Favorable action by the court would mean a new trial. Yet on Jan. 29, when Gonzales appeared in court here as ordered to begin his sentence, a motion for a stay of execution was denied even though the application for the writ is still pending. The motion was denied by Municipal Judge Alan Campbell, who had presided when Gonzales was convicted. Despite numerous precedents to the contrary, the judge asserted he lacked the authority to stay his own sentence.

In an interview just before being taken off by jailers, Gonzales said that he had no personal regrets about going to jail. "It's one of the sacrifices that you have to expect to make if you're part of the movement," he said.

"What you have to do," he continued, "is to use it to make people aware of what the judicial sys-

tem is—make them aware that there is no justice in the courts."

He said his frame-up was directly related to the efforts by the rulers of this country to smash organized Chicano opposition to the racist war in Vietnam. The Chicano Moratorium was the biggest Chicano demonstration against the war, he continued, "and they turned it into a Chicano massacre because it was so dangerous for them."

"It was a planned attack on the Chicano people," he said, "but it backfired. Awareness is growing deeper. People saw the police provocation."

He said active opposition to the war by the Chicano people would continue and deepen.

"We should be totally opposed to any war waged by this society," Gonzales said, "but especially a war against an oppressed people."

Chicano students score victory in San Diego

SAN DIEGO—Chicano students at San Diego State College have scored a major victory by taking all decision-making power over the Chicano Studies Program into their own hands. MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) voted unanimously Jan. 6 to eliminate the program's Junta Directiva (Board of Directors). The Junta was dominated by Chicano administrators and faculty who prevented the students from exercising democratic control.

To implement its decision, MECHA has set up student teams to evaluate all aspects of the Chicano programs on campus. MECHA asserted its right to hire and fire administrators and faculty.

This development culminated a year-long struggle by Chicano students to change the bureaucratized Chicano Studies Program. Last May the Junta Directiva demanded the firing of Professor Richard Garcia, a revolutionary socialist and well-known supporter of Chicano student control. MECHA voted to retain Garcia. Disregarding this decision, the Chicano administrators and faculty, in an atmosphere of physical intimidation and with threats of a mass resignation on their part, forced MECHA to fire Garcia. (See *The Militant*, June 18.)

This was a setback to the students but at the same time it served to deepen their dissatisfaction and spur their further radicalization. The pro-student-control *Mechistas* became more determined to mobilize the Chicano students to fight to control the decision-making process, determine their curriculum, hire and fire their own professors, and utilize their program's resources to help organize the Chicano community around issues that affect La Raza as a whole.

Last September the number of Chicano students at San Diego State increased from about 600 to 1,000. Dissatisfaction with the lack of student control developed among many of the new students. A manifestation of their growing drive for decision-making power was the increased attendance at MECHA meetings, where discussions took place on how the Chicano Studies Program was controlled by the faculty, administrators, and some hand-selected students close to them.

Further disenchantment came when *Mechistas* were urged by some of the leadership of the Junta Directiva to not support the Raza Contra la Guerra Committee, which was building a Chicano contingent in the Nov. 6 antiwar action in Los Angeles. They were told that the war was "going to end very quickly, and mass demonstrations produced no results."

Student determination to assert control over Chicano studies reached a new intensity when a committee dominated by Chicano faculty and administrators attempted to pressure MECHA into voting to move Chicano studies from the campus to the community. More than 140 students attended that MECHA meeting and voted overwhelmingly to remain on campus. MECHA's decision made it clear that while Chicano students saw the need for more education programs in the barrio, they recognized their democratic right to use the campus facilities for the education of all of La Raza and their right to use these resources to aid the organizing of the community.

MECHA also voted to wage a campaign to win recognition of the Chicano Studies Program as a full-fledged institute. Such a move would make the program an established department entitled to reg-

ular funding. At present the program is funded only on a yearly basis and is subject to removal at any time.

In a subsequent meeting MECHA voted to build a mass demonstration for open admission this spring, pledging to fight for the right of the Chicano community to full use of the university facilities.

The attempt by Chicano administrators and faculty to remove the Chicano Studies Program from the campus was prompted by the desire to strengthen their positions and privileges rather than to make Chicano studies relevant to the Chicano community. They recognized that the Chicano student radicalization at San Diego State was leading toward student control of the program.

Thus MECHA's elimination of the Junta Directiva was an important victory for the Chicano student movement and points the way for other campuses where similar situations exist.

Prisoners Union aids San Quentin inmates

SAN DIEGO—Representatives of the United Prisoners Union made public their demand that they be permitted to negotiate with San Quentin Prison officials on behalf of 22 convicts being held in the Adjustment Center there. The 22 recently conducted a six-day hunger strike against inhuman conditions in the center. All 22 are members of the United Prisoners Union. One is Ruchell Magee, co-defendant with Angela Davis.

At a press conference here Jan. 29, Major Campbell and Bill Driscoll, organizers for the UPU, reported that four of the prisoners, regarded by authorities as the leaders of the hunger strike, are now in strip cells. These cells are unheated and contain only a mattress. There is not even a toilet bowl or a basin. Federal courts have held that incarceration in the strip cells constitutes "cruel and unusual punishment," but their use continues.

The UPU representatives said that the 22 prisoners were tear-gassed in their cells during the hunger strike and have been gassed since. Three of the men in the strip cells are in need of medical attention.

The UPU was able to get a first-hand account of what was happening in the Adjustment Center when Jesse Phillips, one of the 22, was brought into a San Francisco court on another matter and was able to speak to Wilburn "Popeye" Jackson, the UPU's Minister of Prison Affairs.

The UPU charged that those being held in the Adjustment Center are there as political prisoners. Originally, they explained, prisoners were sent to the Adjustment Center for infractions of one or another rule. Then, as prisoners began rebelling against their treatment, the center became a place for those considered "too out-spoken" or those "politically inclined."

Now, the UPU representatives said, prisoners are isolated in the Adjustment Center for being "potential leaders." Treatment is far worse there, and penal regulations are ignored. All prisoners are supposed to receive three meals a day, but in the Adjustment Center they get two—one of them consisting of a peanut butter and jelly sandwich.

On behalf of their 22 members, the UPU is demanding that officials negotiate the following demands with them:

- 1) Same canteen privileges that every other state prisoner is allowed;
- 2) three meals every day, as dictated by the state's penal code;
- 3) same visiting privileges as all other state prisoners;
- 4) allowed in the visiting areas without having to be chained and shackled;
- 5) read the literature of their choice;
- 6) allowed to pick the attorney of their choice at the state's expense;
- 7) investigation of the San Quentin Adjustment Center and of the beatings and gassings that occurred during the recent hunger strike;
- 8) that a medical team administer to the sick members in the Adjustment Center (as a result of all the windows being broken by the guards on Aug. 21, 1971, many prisoners have contracted the flu);
- 9) a full and complete checkup, particularly of Willie Tate, Robert Soto, and Earl Gibson, who have been picked as leaders of the food strike by the state of California;
- 10) that the UPU officials be allowed to write and visit convicts in California's prison system.

Broad support wins Crystal City strike

By RICHARD GARCIA

CRYSTAL CITY, Texas—A spontaneous farm strike began near here when 120 Chicanos walked out of the Warren Wagner Company packing shed. The strike was initiated on Jan. 21 by Chicanas, who are a majority of the workers in the packing shed.

The next day, over 100 Chicano farm workers walked out of the Wagner fields to support the strike. This was said to be the first farm strike in the history of Crystal City. The warehouse workers were angered over a recent cutback in pay from \$1.60 to \$1.30 an hour. The field workers were similarly angered by a cut in their pay from 40 cents to 20 cents a basket.

The strikers' demands were formulated at a rally outside the Wagner packing shed Friday night, Jan. 25. The strikers demanded back wages taken in the cutbacks; toilets in the fields; cold drinking water in the fields; payment of wages by check; 30 cents a basket for everything picked; and the minimum wage for warehouse workers.

The strike committee leaders—Ismael Rivera, María Luisa Alonso, and Juan Durán—immediately appealed to the Chicano community for support. The response was massive. *La Verdad*, a Raza paper, immediately published a special issue outlining the problems and demands of the workers and urging support for their strike.

The mayor of Crystal City endorsed the strike. Support also came from the faculty and students at the high school, who joined the picket lines and lent financial assistance to the strikers. La Raza Unida Party gave its support as well.

All sectors of the Chicano community were drawn into the daily picketing of the Wagner farm and into nightly educational meetings on the strike.

Erasmo Andrade, a public health administrator and a member of La Raza Unida Party, stated that these meetings were to educate the people about the nature of the strike and its relationship to the Chicano movement.

Representatives of Cesar Chavez'

United Farm Workers Organizing Committee have spoken at the meetings. The mass pressure has forced the Wagner Company to reimburse the workers for the wages taken in the cutbacks. Other ranches in the area have been forced to raise their workers' wages to the minimum-wage-law level in order to prevent the strike from spreading to their workers.

On Friday, Jan. 28, the Zavala County Sheriff arrested five of the strikers when the strikers prevented scabs from being trucked in. The community immediately responded with a march and rally of more than 1,800 people. This forced Wagner to seriously negotiate, and by Monday, Jan. 31, the Chicano strikers had won their demands.

According to José Angel Gutiérrez, the founder of La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, the strike had thrown "quite a scare into the growers." One of the workers stated that "the farm strike began to bring justice to our Raza. It is not just for us to work for lower wages than those provided by the minimum wage law. We have to think of the future of our sons

and daughters. We have to unite."

This unity was evident in Crystal City, where La Raza Unida Party



Photo by Antonio Camejo

Farm workers in Crystal City

has, over the last two years, won control over all the city's major political, administrative, and educational posts.

Second mistrial in Harlem Four case

By B. R. WASHINGTON

NEW YORK—On Jan. 27, the jury in the trial of the Harlem Four had become what it described as "hopelessly deadlocked," 7 to 5 in favor of acquittal. Manhattan Supreme Court Justice Joseph A. Martinis then granted a mistrial.

For the four Black youths—Walter Thomas, Ronald Felder, William Craig, and Wallace Baker, all of whom are 24, with the exception of Baker, who is 25—it was the second mistrial in the last eight months.

The defendants were originally arrested along with two others in April 1964 following the stabbing death of a white woman storekeeper in Harlem. The four have been imprisoned since that time—almost eight years—without being convicted of a crime or granted bail. Thomas has a nine-year-old daughter. Craig has written poems that are now on exhibit in the Countee Cullen Library in Harlem.

During the two-month trial just con-

cluded, the defense, led by prominent civil liberties lawyer William M. Kunstler, revealed so many inconsistencies during cross-examination of the 29 prosecution witnesses that Assistant District Attorney Robert Lehner was forced onto the defensive.

Lehner's star witnesses were two women, only 8 and 10 years old at the time of the incident; a drug addict who admitted during his testimony that he needed a fix and would lie to get one; and a man who claimed to be a co-conspirator, but conceded he had lied and changed his testimony three or four times in two earlier trials.

Other testimony came from a police fingerprint expert who supposedly had taken fresh prints identified as Craig's from the door of the shop. However, in cross-examination by the defense, he admitted he really couldn't say when the prints were made.

The history of the case and the role of Lehner throughout the trial are of particular interest. Lehner obtained

a conviction at the first trial in 1965. But when this verdict was overturned in 1968 by a higher court, the prosecution of the six became a matter of personal vengeance.

A separate trial for Robert Rice ended in conviction. Daniel Hamm, another defendant, then pleaded guilty. Now both are appealing.

A second trial for the remaining four in May 1971 ended in mistrial. But during his summary before the jury in the trial just concluded, Lehner implied that this would not be the last trial if his desired verdict were not reached. "This is the fourth trial in this case, but there are certain facts that will not change if there are eight trials or 20 trials," he was quoted in the Jan. 23 *New York Times*.

The jury consisted of eight men and four women whose average age was 61. Three of the jurors were Black. After the trial was over, one of the jurors told reporters that the seven dissenting jurors had rejected as "un-

true and unbelievable" the entire testimony of the main prosecution witnesses.

Despite the evident weakness of his case, Lehner persisted in opposing bail for the four. Judge Martinis overruled him but set bail at the astronomical figure of \$75,000 for each defendant. "I expected after eight years they would be released in their own recognizance," said defense attorney Lewis M. Steel, according to the Jan. 28 *Times*.

At present, Manhattan District Attorney Frank S. Hogan is deciding whether to continue further prosecution. If he does not, Judge Martinis will dismiss the case. But if he does, there will be an unprecedented fourth trial, prolonging the agony and pain already endured by the Harlem Four.

Supporters of the Harlem Four urge that letters demanding the dropping of all charges be sent to District Attorney Frank Hogan, 155 Leonard St., New York, N. Y. 10013.

¡La Raza en Acción!



CODEL TO DEMAND BILINGUAL BALLOT: The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CODEL) is planning to file suit in U. S. District Court in Northern California challenging several aspects of the election code in that state "that deny equal access to the ballot and limit the right to vote."

Section 14217 of the California Election Code, according to a CODEL release, states the following: "All proceedings at the polls shall be conducted in the English language. No election official while on duty shall speak other than in the English language." In 1970, another section of the code requiring voters to be able to read English was ruled unconstitutional. CODEL charges that prohibiting election officials from using any language other than English "not only intimidates non-English-speaking voters but denies them the aid they are entitled to by law...." The 1971 session of the California state legislature added Sections 14201.5 and 14201.6 to the election code, requiring "Spanish and other appropriate translations of the English ballot instructions and ballot measures to be posted in each polling place." In addition, election officials are required to provide voters with a copy of the ballot in their language, upon request.

The section insisting that all officials conduct their business in English is clearly in contradiction to the recent additions by the state legislature, and will be challenged by CODEL. Those interested in helping with the challenge or becoming plaintiffs may contact CODEL, P. O. Box 40445, San Francisco, Calif. 94140.

COLORADO MIGRANT PLIGHT HELD APPALLING: A study conducted by the Migrant Community Studies Project in migrant and rural areas throughout Colorado and the Southwest recently issued a 291-page report describing the conditions faced by field workers and the rural poor.

According to an article in the Dec. 24 *Denver Post*, "Discrimination, prejudice, 'appalling' housing conditions, poor health and educational opportunities, and lack of economic assistance" is the lot of Colorado farm workers. More than 50 percent of the housing available to field workers was found to be substandard. Because migrants are "treated as a group separate from the local economy," they are effectively eliminated from the benefits of social welfare programs. Only about 12.5 percent of the field workers in Colorado, according to the report, receive food stamp assistance.

The most indicting statistic revealed by the study is that the average life expectancy of the field worker is only 46 years. This compares with an average life expectancy of 69-75 years for non-farm workers. The report stressed that this low life expectancy was not caused by the nature of field work, but rather "by poor health conditions and substandard housing." Needless to say, the poor health results from the starvation diets forced upon the farm workers because of the meager wages paid by multimillionaire growers.

RAZA GROUP FIGHTS DEPORTATIONS: An

organization called Comité Nacional Hermandad General de Trabajadores (National Committee of the General Brotherhood of Workers) has been protesting the stepped-up campaign against so-called "illegal aliens" that the Immigration Service has been carrying out. The Hermandad is strongly rejecting the government's attempt to turn Chicanos against their less fortunate brothers and sisters from Mexico who have no papers.

In a leaflet issued by the group, they demand: "1) All workers who are here should be legalized immediately! 2) While these visas are being processed, no one should be deported. 3) All children, women, and aged persons who are not workers and are here in our families should also be given visas. 4) No more deportations!"

The leaflet calls for "a new immigration policy that will put an end to all exploitation of *all our people*, of those born here, of those who have their permanent visas, and those who have not been able to obtain them." Calling upon Chicanos with documents, as well as *mexicanos* and *latinos* without them, to unite, a Spanish-language leaflet states that only "United as working people and a poor people will we be able to rid ourselves of discrimination and oppression." One of the main slogans of the Hermandad is "An injury to one is an injury to all!" Those interested in helping or finding out more about their work may write: Hermandad General de Trabajadores, 2714 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif. 90006, or call: (213) 737-1269.

—ANTONIO CAMEJO

Can the Chilean popular

By LES EVANS

The election of a self-proclaimed socialist government in Chile in September 1970 and its survival of more than a year in office has posed thorny problems of strategy and tactics for radicals everywhere. Did the success of Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular (People's Unity) coalition point to the possibility of a peaceful, electoral transition to socialism, to be achieved, moreover, by an alliance between socialist groups and liberal capitalist parties?

In this country the left, with the virtual exception of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, has been disposed to hail Allende's coalition as a revolutionary force. An important departure from this apparent consensus is an article by Paul M. Sweezy in the January 1972 issue of *Monthly Review*. Under the title "Chile: Advance or Retreat?" Sweezy writes:

"We must keep in mind that the UP program is not a socialist program but only a program designed to set the stage for the construction of socialism. It envisages not the end of capitalism but only 'the end of the power of national and foreign monopolistic capital and latifundism,' a goal which is probably acceptable to a large part of the officer corps [of the army]. (This view is supported by what has happened in Peru, where the military has taken the initiative in developing and implementing a program with very similar stated goals.) At the same time it is unlikely, not to say inconceivable, that any influential sector of the Chilean military would go along with a really revolutionary program. But what this means is that by seeking to ally himself to the military, Allende has already made his decision. In *Portada's* terminology it is



Salvador Allende

for social democracy, in that of Hector Benavides it is for consolidation."

This is a departure from Sweezy's earlier position of high hopes for the Allende regime. By consolidation, Sweezy and Benavides, a member of the left wing of the Chilean Socialist Party, mean halting the process of nationalizations at a stage acceptable to the bankers and industrialists, using the excuse that it is necessary to reorganize or "consolidate" those factories already taken over by the government.

This is a fully justified judgment of the limitations of the Allende regime. It is committed to reform within the framework of capitalism. It has no strategy for, or intention of, challenging Chile's real rulers.

Deepening crisis

The deepening crisis in Chile, in which funds for Allende's reform program were cut off in January by the bourgeois-opposition-controlled congress, has compelled the most uncritical defenders of the so-called Chilean road to socialism to express a few second thoughts. Even the New York weekly *Guardian*, whose Stephen Torgoff, writing from Santiago, has been uncritically applauding every "progressive" promise of the UP, has noticed some of the shabby reality behind the "socialist" glitter. Thus while Torgoff is able to write in the Jan. 5 *Guardian* that the "UP's position in government is not incompatible with the historic task of the proletariat to destroy the bourgeois state," by Jan. 19 he is already "covering" his left flank in case something unpleasant should happen to the Allende government. Torgoff now writes:

"The same law and constitution to which the government points as its main defense are being used by the right to attack it. Although the government has had no choice but to avoid bloody confrontations in the streets which would discredit the UP with wavering middle sectors and perhaps bring the intervention of the army, it cannot win the battle in congress either."

Both *Monthly Review* and the *Guardian* claim to be Marxist publications, yet neither attempts any explanation for the failure of the Allende experiment. All they can do is add up pluses and minuses like bookkeepers, refusing to extend further credit only when it appears that the firm of Allende and Co. is headed for bankruptcy.

Neither Sweezy nor Torgoff discusses the character of the coalition that won office in Chile in September 1970. Sweezy discovered only in January 1972 that Allende had decided to ally himself with the army rather than with the revolution. But when Sweezy cites the army all he really means is the most obvious organized embodiment of the pro-

gram of capitalism, the defenders of the wealth of the old ruling class. Allende made the decision not to seriously challenge private property when the UP was formed. This was indicated by the inclusion in its ranks of the procapitalist Radical Party. To keep an antisocialist party in a governmental or electoral coalition requires acceptance by all the other participants of a pledge to respect capitalist property and the legal norms of the old society—all rigged to protect the privileges of a propertied minority. Sweezy now recognizes that such a pledge was indeed made when he notices that the UP's program "is not a socialist program."

Such multiclass blocs are nothing new. They have existed since socialist parties became large enough to command big blocs of votes and since the leaders of such parties first decided to trade a revolutionary perspective for a chance at a government job. These coalitions have a name with which Sweezy is at least familiar even if he draws no conclusions from it. A year ago, an editorial in the January 1971 issue of *Monthly Review* openly described the Chilean UP as a "popular front." It added, in defense of this popular front, that it had been "elected on a program which is much more radical than any program on which a Western socialist party or popular front has ever run, let alone won, in the past."

The one hitch is that this "radical" program, as Sweezy now admits, was not socialist. This is not a matter of doctrinal purity. No country of the underdeveloped world that has not broken free of the capitalist world market and expropriated its native capitalist class has been able to institute any serious industrialization or raise the standard of living of the masses. There is nothing progressive about reforms that have to be taken away again because there is no money to pay for them. Even such elementary improvements as the free milk ration for children instituted by the Allende government have now been canceled because the congress, which is in the hands of the old ruling-class parties, has cut off the funds.

Class collaboration

What, then, is this popular front that Sweezy passes over so lightly? Is it one possible strategy for achieving socialism, or is it inherently incapable of securing such a transformation? The name was coined by the Communist International, which, under the influence of Stalin, officially adopted the tactic of seeking such alliances at its Seventh World Congress in 1935. What was envisioned was an electoral bloc between Communist, Socialist, and liberal capitalist parties aimed at preventing the rise of fascism. Such alliances were never supposed to achieve socialism—if they were, the liberals

Election defeats pose crisis for Allende regime

From Intercontinental Press

By JON ROTHSCHILD

On January 20, in the wake of the defeat of government-supported candidates in two by-elections January 16, Chilean President Salvador Allende Gossens "accepted" the resignation of his cabinet. The electoral setback thus triggered one of the most serious parliamentary crises for the Unidad Popular (UP—Popular Unity) regime since Allende's inauguration in November 1970.

Under normal conditions, the two elections would have been of less than earth-shattering importance. The districts involved, one encompassing O'Higgins and Colchagua provinces, the other Linares province, comprise only about 5 percent of Chile's voters. The O'Higgins-Colchagua contest was for a Chamber of Deputies seat that had been vacated when its holder, a member of the right-wing Partido Nacional (PN—National party), fled the country in panic after Allende's election. The Linares Senate seat had been held by a Christian Democrat who died several months ago. Neither of the districts had been centers of UP strength.

In the April 1971 municipal elections, the UP parties polled 23,100 votes in Linares, compared to 26,800 for the parties of the opposition. In

the O'Higgins area, the UP received a majority last April, but in Colchagua the Christian Democratic and National parties ran well ahead. The combined vote gave the UP a slight majority in the district.

For the O'Higgins-Colchagua Senate seat, the January 16 race pitted the Christian Democrat Rafael Moreno, who directed the agrarian reform program under the Eduardo Frei regime, against Héctor Olivares, a member of the Socialist party and head of the copper miners' union. Final returns gave Moreno 77,614 votes to 68,338 for Olivares, representing a shift of about 5,000 votes from the UP to the opposition since April.

In Linares, National party candidate Sergio Díez got 29,990 votes, compared to 21,165 for María Eliana Mery, the government-supported candidate. This represented a shift of about 2,500 votes away from UP-backed parties since the April elections. In both races the Christian Democratic and National parties supported each other's candidates, closing ranks against the left.

Moreno, a "rising star" in the Christian Democratic organization, called the results "a victory for democracy which the totalitarian elements in the government will have to heed." Minister of the Interior Alejandro Ríos

Valdivia compared the results to "a strong tremor, grade 4, but short of an earthquake."

Preliminary analysis of the returns, according to the January 18 *Le Monde*, indicated that the UP had lost heavily among the small and middle peasant proprietors, who feared that the government planned to reduce from 80 to 40 hectares the amount of land that can be owned by families.

Allende's program of advancing to socialism via the electoral road turned what would have otherwise been two relatively unimportant by-elections (the outcome of which did not even alter the parliamentary relation of forces) into a psychological victory for the rightist forces now mobilizing in Chile.

In the 1970 presidential elections, Allende's popular front was able to win a plurality, although not a majority, of the popular vote. But his inauguration as president was confirmed only by the acquiescence of the Christian Democrats in the National Congress. That acquiescence was based on a series of concessions from Allende. Both houses of Congress are controlled by the opposition, as are the courts. The press is largely anti-government, and the army and police are run by officer corps not noted for their revolutionary zeal. (One of

front achieve socialism?

would never have participated in them—but only to defend democratic rights under capitalism.

But here a serious question is posed as to the kind of alliances that a socialist party can make and still remain committed to the struggle for socialism. Stalin and his apologists argued that the popular front was merely an extension of Lenin's united front tactic adopted by the Third International in 1921. In reality the two have nothing in common. Lenin began from the self-evident proposition that the revolutionary forces, which at that time were mainly the Communist parties, counted in their ranks only a minority of the working class. To defend the working class from governmental attack required mobilizing in action far larger forces than those immediately in and around the Communist parties. It required alliances with other tendencies on the left, first and foremost in those days the reformist Socialist parties. The key to such an alliance was that it be around concrete actions against the capitalist class and that it not give political support to the avowed enemies of the working class—that is, the capitalists, liberal or otherwise.

The united front—say, in defense of a particular strike, or against press censorship—did not reject support from liberals as long as it was on the basis of real action on behalf of the working class. The easiest way to preserve such clarity of purpose is in a single-issue united front such as the antiwar movement in the United States today.

But a coalition that aims at winning elections and administering a government is something altogether different. Here the first question to answer is what class will this government represent, what will its whole social program be? It is not enough

for a government to support this or that reform. It also disposes of an army and police, it has a foreign policy, it must defend or oppose private property in the means of production.

This is why Torgoff is completely wrong when he writes that the "UP's position in government is not incompatible with the historic task of the proletariat to destroy the bourgeois state." An electoral bloc with a nonsocialist program that administers a capitalist government becomes an agent of capitalist rule, whatever subjective intention its participants and supporters may have to the contrary.

Stalin's theory of the people's front was designed to serve a very narrow end. It was tied to the Soviet government's search for "collective security" against Nazi Germany. The people's front coalitions were supposed to secure military alliances between the Kremlin and the supposedly more liberal and democratic sector of the imperialist bourgeoisie in France, Britain, and the United States. Since the imperialists obviously could not be persuaded to embrace socialism, the Communist parties were charged with demonstrating their respectability to the liberals and lending Communist votes to the job of electing liberal governments that would presumably be friendly to the Soviet Union.

In fact every imperialist power and every capitalist class opposes the very existence of any working-class regime, even such a bureaucratized and antirevolutionary one as that in the USSR. So from a practical standpoint Stalin's capitulation before the liberal imperialists failed to secure the alliance he sought and he eventually turned around and himself signed an agreement with Hitler in 1939.

Unfortunately the political corpse of popular

frontism is still being dragged into battle by the forces loyal to the Kremlin in world politics. For Moscow, the aim is the same as in Stalin's time, to secure the election of liberal regimes willing to peacefully coexist with the Soviet Union. For the Communist parties it is a way of establishing their respectability as defenders of "democracy" and limited social reform. Sadly enough for the working class taken in by this, such a policy in the long run not only fails to produce socialism but it cannot guarantee democracy or reform either.

Fails to mobilize masses

The UP is following a course of timid reformism in the midst of a revolutionary social crisis. It is under attack from the right, which is preparing an onslaught against the working class. The refusal of the UP to seriously mobilize the Chilean masses in their own defense is a sure prescription for a savage defeat.

Sweezy justifies his refusal to see that such an antirevolutionary policy is inherent in the *nature* of the UP as a class-collaborationist formation by claiming that "the real political forces in the government camp are the Socialist and Communist parties and Allende himself." According to this thesis the inclusion of the bourgeois Radical Party means nothing and the coalition should not be judged on this basis because the balance of power rests with the working-class parties.

Here Sweezy grievously misreads the historical lessons of popular frontism. It is true that in the French Popular Front of the 1930s the bourgeois parties held a mechanical majority, but this was not the case in Spain. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) the procapitalist Republican regime fell more and more directly under the control of the Spanish Communist Party, backed up by the Comintern's International Brigades and a large staff of Soviet "advisers." If in Spain the Republican government filled its prisons with revolutionaries rather than fascists, this was not because the procapitalist parties in the coalition outvoted the Communists and Socialists; it was because in agreeing to such an alliance in the first place the Communist Party had committed itself to defend liberal capitalism from the left as well as from the right. In a revolutionary situation such a decision means more than inadequately opposing rightist thrusts, it means actively suppressing the left.

There have already been ominous signs in Chile that Allende's decision to try to win over the army means giving the generals a free hand to act against the peasant land seizures and against other initiatives of the masses that go beyond the prescribed, legalistic channels approved by the Unidad Popular.



A nationalized Ford plant (left) and a clash provoked by rightists during Dec. 2 "march of the empty pots" in Santiago.

Allende's 1970 concessions to the Christian Democrats was a pledge to prohibit the formation of "private militia," that is, any popular armed force independent of the army and police.)

Consequently, Allende holds office largely by virtue of the sufferance of the Christian Democrats. His projected reforms can be overruled by Congress or be declared unconstitutional by the courts. The strategy of the Chilean national bourgeoisie has been to block unacceptable economic and social reforms and wait for the masses to become disappointed with Allende because of his failure to carry out his promises. With the erosion of the Allende regime, the rightists can then stage a comeback.

Allende, on his part, has steadfastly refused to step beyond electoral bounds, taking the attitude that if the Unidad Popular is voted out of office "democratically," Chile's march to socialism is ended, and disaster ensues.

The fate of the country, according to Allende, should be settled in the electoral arena. This attitude tends to convert every election, no matter how minor, into a portentous contest. The right wing, on the other hand, although it seeks to make the most of any electoral gains, has no intention of abiding by any electoral decisions

that run against its basic economic and political interests. It has been mobilizing against the Unidad Popular regime, and this has led to a deepening polarization of forces in Chile.

The Unidad Popular has thus come under increasing pressure, both from the right and the left. The "march of the empty pots" and the antigovernment mass meetings of December showed that the bourgeoisie is preparing for extraparliamentary action.

Allende's failure to deliver on his election promises has already given rise to considerable disenchantment on the part of Chile's workers and peasants. One of the few slogans around which the UP has actually tried to mobilize the masses has been the "battle for production," a polite term for speedup. Chilean workers have understandably failed to respond to the slogan. Although about 100 large factories have been nationalized, some 34,000 small enterprises remain in private hands. Even in the big factories, government delegates outnumber workers' delegates on the management boards by six to five.

Combined with the domestic polarization has been mounting imperialist pressure on Chile. The Kennecott Copper Corporation, one of the major U.S. companies having investments in Chile, has demanded immediate payment of a debt of several million

dollars. Chile's dollar reserves dropped from \$335,000,000 in November 1970 to \$100,000,000 one year later. By the end of 1971, the balance of payments deficit stood at \$210,000,000.

In February the Chilean government will meet in Paris with representatives of the United States and twelve other Western countries to renegotiate a plan to repay Chile's foreign debt, which is estimated to be on the order of \$3,000,000,000! Such a debt, especially when compounded by shrinking reserves, is a source of massive pressure on a regime that insists on remaining within the bounds of the capitalist world market.

On January 19 Nixon announced a new policy toward countries nationalizing U.S.-owned industry. From now on, he said, the United States would suspend all aid agreements with any country that does not take "reasonable steps" to insure rapid and "just" payment of compensation to the U.S. owners whose holdings are nationalized.

The statement was directed largely at countries like Chile, and Allende lost no time in answering. The same night the Nixon pronouncement was issued, Allende said that the people of Chile would not tolerate others "trampling" on their independence.

But he continued to try to justify his program by appealing to bourgeois legality, even when confronted with such a direct imperialist threat: "I think that small dependent countries such as ours are countries that have the right to be respected. Our laws are within the framework of our constitutions, written by a congress more than 150 years old. For that reason, it is a country that can dictate its own laws with dignity."

In the context of the domestic polarization of forces and the attempts

Continued on page 22

**Allende's Chile:
Is it going socialist?**
by Peter Camejo
60¢

Pathfinder Press, 410 West
St., New York, N.Y. 10014

Pulley tours Ohio; SWP files petitions

By BOB BRESNAHAN

CLEVELAND, Jan. 31—Today the Ohio Socialist Workers Party filed 9,767 signatures on nominating petitions with the secretary of state. This total far surpasses the minimum requirement of 5,000 to place the electors for SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, on the Ohio ballot.

The SWP also won a suit today against the Feb. 2 filing deadline for local candidates set by the new Ohio election laws. Judge Green extended the filing date by 30 days after hearing arguments that the failure to redistrict congressional boundaries until Jan. 20 had imposed hardships on candidates seeking ballot status. Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) had filed a similar suit.

The petition drive windup coincided with a six-day tour of the Ohio region by Andrew Pulley. His visit to this area was the first stop of a tour that will cover the Eastern part of the country. Pulley received an enthusiastic response on eight campuses in Ohio, Kentucky, and Western Pennsylvania.

In Kentucky, a group of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley has been formed to help put Jenness and Pulley on the ballot. At the U of Kentucky in Lexington, 125 people attended a student-government-sponsored meeting with Pulley.

Pulley also attempted to visit Ft. Knox. But he was denied the welcome routinely given to capitalist candidates and was refused entry to the base. Pulley denounced this action by the Ft. Knox provost marshal at a press conference covered by the *Louisville Times*, the *Louisville Bluegrass Defender*, and WAVE-TV.

The Ohio Socialist Workers cam-

paign committee had also requested that Pulley be permitted to visit the Ohio state penitentiary in Columbus. The request was refused, but Pulley was able to hold a well-attended press conference at the main gate of the penitentiary, which is a few blocks from the governor's mansion. Pulley promised that if he and Linda Jenness were elected in November, one of their first actions would be to free Ahmed Evans, who has been on death row since 1968 on frame-up charges stemming from a police riot in Cleveland.

At Ohio State University in Columbus, nearly half of the 50 people at Pulley's meeting endorsed the campaign. Pulley was the guest lecturer to an Afro-American history class attended by 130 at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland.

In Edinboro, Pa., near Erie, more than 70 students at Edinboro State College have endorsed the campaign. Pulley's meeting of 125 people in Edinboro was covered by two Erie TV stations.

In addition to the news conferences and the campus meetings, Pulley was interviewed by the *Cincinnati Post Times-Star*, and by campus and daily newspapers in Cleveland.

During the tour the Jenness-Pulley campaign obtained the endorsements of Ray Henry, former president of the Case Western Reserve University Afro-American Society; Mike Payne, the Black student government president at CSU; and Morgan Hamilton, one of the leaders of the newly formed Black Sisters in Struggle, a women's liberation group in Cleveland's Black community.

On Jan. 29, the tour culminated with a banquet attended by 40 campaign supporters. At the banquet \$300 was raised for the campaign.



YSJPer Lisa Potash speaks on McGovern's record during discussion period of McGovern meeting at University of Washington.

YSJP coordinators begin national tours

By STEVE BLOOM

Two national coordinators of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Laura Miller and Tom Vernier, have begun a national campaign tour to win new supporters to the Jenness and Pulley campaign and help organize YSJP groups throughout the country.

On the first leg of the tour, Miller was in Georgia and Florida. The highlight of her Southeastern swing was the campaign banquet and rally attended by 50 people in Atlanta on Jan. 22. The collection netted over \$500 for the campaign. When offered a choice of various events to cover over the weekend, one third of a journalism class at Georgia State University chose to write about the rally.

In Florida, Miller was interviewed for half an hour on WINZ radio and appeared on the Mid-day Scene show on Channel 10 in Miami. At the University of Florida in Gainesville, she

joined in confronting Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), a Democratic presidential hopeful. Jackson was discredited in the eyes of much of the audience because of his opposition to the repeal of anti-abortion laws, and his stand against the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. The meeting was extensively covered in the media. Also in Gainesville, Miller debated two members of the Students for McGovern.

At Florida State University in Tallahassee, all of the 20 students at Miller's meeting who were not already endorsers of the campaign signed up after her talk.

Tom Vernier began his portion of the tour in the Northwest. He has spoken at meetings on college campuses in Washington and Oregon. His tour has been covered in the newspapers and on the radio in both Seattle and Portland.

'72 Socialist Campaign

George McGovern, speaking recently at the University of Washington in Seattle, was questioned by Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and others, on the Indochina war, the Middle East, freedom for Angela Davis, the prison revolts, and other issues.

Mike Kelly of Seattle reports that a YSJP leaflet on McGovern's record "was well received by the crowd of about 1,500, as evidenced by the wait-and-see attitude they took toward his speech. He received no applause during his speech at the points he obviously expected to. . . ."

At the meeting, YSJPers sold 29 copies of *The Militant* and 34 copies of the pamphlet *Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern. . . .*

As of Jan. 27, the socialist campaign had been endorsed by 3,266 people. The following is the breakdown by categories, with figures for the week of Jan. 20-27 in parentheses: Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, 1,419 (62); Women for Jenness and Pulley, 757 (30); Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley, 265 (16); Chicanos for Jenness and Pulley, 73 (19); and the general category, 752 (33).

The top three states for the week were: California, 86 new endorsements; Illinois, 26; and Michigan, 25.

If you would like to participate in the endorser drive, send a request for an organizing kit, including a free packet of endorser cards, to the national campaign office.

Brooklyn SWP congressional candidate Peter Buch spoke on behalf of Linda Jenness' presidential candidacy to a meeting of about 100 people Jan. 19. The meeting was sponsored by the Bay Ridge Independent Democrats, a chapter of the New Democratic Coalition, the liberal wing of the Democratic Party in New York. Representatives of a number of other candidates also spoke.

Five people endorsed the SWP campaign, and 10 copies of *Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern. . . .* were sold.

The following is a selection of mail recently received by the SWP national campaign office:

"I am chairman of the TSJP (Tidewater Students for Jenness and Pulley). In our 'campaign' throughout the high schools and community colleges we have found our students to be very receptive. In order to continue our success, we would greatly appreciate any literature regarding the SWP candidates and the socialist movement in general. Much thanks,"

Barry Weinstein, Newport News, Va.

"I have received the information you sent me on the SWP and have been 'turned on' to the party and its philosophy. Over the last few weeks I've been soul searching 'bout what I can do for the cause of the SWP. After reading the copy of *The Militant* sent to me I have decided that I want to bring Jenness & Pulley to Wichita

and speak to the people the truth. Peace,"

Dave Wilson, Wichita, Kan.

"Recently I attended a speech by George McGovern in my town. At that time I was given various literature regarding Jenness and Pulley as presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Although a McGovern supporter, I would be interested in hearing more about your candidates' platform.

At Keene High School, which I attend, there have been many persons speaking for presidential candidates. . . .

I and others would like to have Jenness and/or Pulley come and speak. I have spoken with a history teacher about it and he said that we can give speaking time to any presidential candidate or their representative.

Do you think you could arrange a time for Jenness and Pulley to come? Think about it and get in touch, possibly suggesting a date."

Susan Wright, Keene, N. H.

On Jan. 22, Debby Leonard, SWP 1972 Texas gubernatorial candidate, addressed a meeting of the Harris County Women's Political Caucus. The meeting, held in Houston, drew more than 100 women.

Leonard, the only woman candidate for governor, focused her remarks on the need for women to build an independent movement to fight for their demands, such as the national abortion law repeal campaign. She also pointed to the record of racism and sexism of both the Democratic and Republican parties, stating that women could put no faith in either of these capitalist parties to meet their needs and help end their oppression.

"The Black Community and the '72 Elections," a 16-page brochure that discusses a strategy for the Black community in the elections and outlines the SWP program for the Black liberation struggle, is now available from the SWP national campaign office. The price is two cents per brochure for bulk orders.

The Jan. 17 issue of *Monolith*, an underground newspaper published weekly at Sam Houston State University in Texas, reprints in full the text of the Texas Socialist Workers campaign platform brochure.

A one-hour tape of the entire Jan. 15 debate between Linda Jenness and Representative Paul McCloskey is available for \$5 from the SWP national campaign office. The tape is especially useful for radio shows, and campaign supporters are urged to contact local commercial and campus stations about playing the tape.

Address all letters, inquiries, or requests for campaign materials to Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150.

— STEVE BEREN

Socialist joins race for D.C. delegate

By CALVIN GODDARD

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 26—Herman Fagg announced his campaign as Socialist Workers Party candidate for D. C. nonvoting delegate at a press conference here today. His intention to enter the race for delegate was covered by the *Washington Post* and several radio stations.

Fagg, who is 27, became a civil rights activist in the early 1960s and was active in the Free Speech Movement at the University of California at Berkeley. He took part in struggles for Black studies as a student at Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti and as a teacher at Marin College in Marin County, Calif. As an activist in the Black antiwar movement he served as cochairman of the Third World Task Force for the massive April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration in Washington, D. C.

SWP files in Mich.

On Jan. 31 the Michigan Socialist Workers Party presented the state Election Bureau with 28,900 signatures on nominating petitions, the largest number of signatures obtained by any independent political party seeking ballot status in Michigan. The state requires 14,230 signatures.

He is presently an apprentice iron worker and a member of Local 201, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

Fagg's major opponent in the Nov. 7 elections is incumbent Walter Fauntroy. Fauntroy has stated his intention to run in the D. C. presidential primary as a candidate for the Democratic Party nomination. At a recent campaign meeting, Fagg blasted Fauntroy and the other members of the Congressional Black Caucus for helping maintain illusions in the Democratic Party instead of mobilizing Black people against the genocidal war in Southeast Asia, the Angela Davis frame-up, and the Attica massacre.

SWP campaign supporters plan to obtain the 3,000 signatures necessary to place Fagg's name on the ballot.



Herman Fagg

Jenness-Steinem exchange in L.A.

By TYBIE MARTIN

LOS ANGELES—Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness debated a spokeswoman for the Shirley Chisholm campaign and joined Gloria Steinem, a leader of the Women's Political Caucus, in a panel discussion while on tour here.

One hundred ten people attended the Jan. 28 debate at the Militant Labor Forum between Jenness and Shirley Quaimyne of the Chisholm Now Committee. Jenness and Quaimyne both expressed opposition to the war in Southeast Asia and support for the liberation struggles of women and the oppressed nationalities. They disagreed, however, on how these goals could be reached. Quaimyne defended Chisholm's efforts within the Democratic Party, while Jenness explained that only movements independent of the two capitalist parties can make the changes necessary in American society.

Jenness and Gloria Steinem were among the eight panelists at a Jan. 30 forum sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW). More than 1,000 women attended. The forum included an exchange between Steinem and Jenness over what political path feminists should take. Steinem, who remarked that she considers herself more radical than Marx, concluded by stating her support for Senator George McGovern's campaign to win the Democratic Party nomination for president.

In the two minutes she was permitted at the mike, Jenness refuted the notion that pulling the lever for the "good guys" in the Democratic Party would bring about any meaningful change for women, Blacks, or Chicanos.

Jenness held a well-attended press conference on Jan. 28 in which she publicly answered Senator McGovern's charge that her campaign had singled him out as a "special target." She also exposed Nixon's latest "peace plan" as an attempt to lay the basis for further escalation of the war in Southeast Asia.

More than 50 women attended a cocktail party sponsored by Women for Jenness and Pulley on Jan. 29. Jenness also participated in a meeting of the Los Angeles Women's Abortion Action Coalition while on tour here.

Jenness' visit to Los Angeles will culminate with a campaign banquet on Feb. 4.

sponsible for his arbitrary expulsion, Lieberman said, "These junior Joe McCarthies thought that by getting rid of me as a student and eliminating the course I was teaching [*"How to Make a Socialist Revolution in the U. S."*], they could prevent socialist ideas from reaching FSU students."

"I have some sad news for Senator [William] Barrow and company," Lieberman continued, promising that with his campaign "the socialist ideas that were in my class are going to be brought to all the people of Florida."

Lieberman's dismissal followed a long series of battles between witch-hunting officials and FSU students, which have made Lieberman and the YSA a focus of attack for two years. His suit seeking reinstatement is currently on appeal before the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court (see *The Militant* Jan. 28).

More than 51,000 signatures were obtained in two weeks' petitioning in Florida last month to place SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the ballot here. Lieberman said that this "shows that, despite the hysterical pleas of Senator [Robert] Haverfield and others, the majority of Floridians support democratic rights and are willing to consider a socialist alternative....

"And that's what the 1972 SWP campaign of Linda Jenness for president, Andrew Pulley for vice-president, and Jack Lieberman for Congress is going to bring to the people of Florida—a real alternative, a socialist alternative!"

The announcement was covered by six TV stations and 33 radio stations around the state, as well as by the *Tallahassee Democrat*, the FSU *Flambeau*, AP, and UPI.

Lieberman and two Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP) coordinators began a statewide campaign tour after the news conference.

Lieberman runs for Congress

By ROSE PEACOCK

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Jan. 31—In a news conference here today, "Radical Jack" Lieberman announced his candidacy on the Socialist Workers Party ticket for the U. S. House of Representatives from Florida's Second Congressional District. Lieberman is the Young Socialist Alliance leader who was dismissed from Florida State University Nov. 6, 1971, because of his revolutionary ideas.

Referring to the state legislators, university regents, and administrators re-

Mississippi Valley State, Fisk University, Jackson State, Tougaloo College...Grambling College, Clark College, Morris Brown, Claffin College...Fayetteville State, Bennett College...Dillard University, Atlanta University, Savannah State, Hampton Institute, Alabama State, Tuskegee Institute, Norfolk State...

46 Black colleges in the South will be visited by one volunteer team of Afro-Americans for Jenness & Pulley. Their expenses for 8 weeks work out to about \$70 per college ...won't you help?

Enclosed is \$70 to cover the cost of the volunteer team's visit to one of the colleges above.

Enclosed is a donation of \$____ to help with the expenses of the team.

I can pledge to donate \$____ every month.

Name _____ Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Protest political jailings in Argentina

NEW YORK—In December the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) launched a campaign to protest the denial of civil liberties in Argentina. A promising initial response to the international call issued by the committee has been received from Argentina, Europe, and from within the United States.

Three thousand people marched in the streets of Buenos Aires Dec. 15, demanding freedom for all political prisoners. It was the largest demonstration to take place in Argentina all year.

The Associated Press reported that on Jan. 13 the lawyers and families of 30 prisoners released a 60-page statement to the Buenos Aires press that documented the systematic use of torture in Argentine jails.

A statement issued Jan. 19 by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in London said: "Repeated complaints from citizens of Argentina draw attention to an unprecedented wave of police brutality in that country. Numerous students and political activists have been murdered by the police, and professional people including lawyers and doctors have been either kidnapped or murdered. We appeal to civil rights organizations, and socialist and radical opinion, throughout the world to protest to the Argentinian authorities concerning these brutalities, and to demand that they be brought to an end."

In the United States, enthusiastic support for the campaign came from Chicanos attending the Mid-West La Raza Conference Jan. 22-23, and from hundreds of youth attending the Young Socialist Alliance national convention in Houston last December.

The USLA, formed in December 1966, fights for the rights of dissidents in almost every country in Latin America. It played a central role in the United States organizing the campaign to save the life and eventually win the release of the Peruvian revolutionary peasant leader Hugo Blanco, and in the defense of the students arrested in Mexico City in 1968.

The *USLA Reporter*, the bimonthly magazine of the committee, has also been responsible for getting the real facts of many cases of repression into the North American press. Among them are the facts in the case of Carlos Feliciano, the Puerto Rican independence fighter who was first framed up in May 1970, and much of the current information on Argentine political prisoners.

USLA has also opened the pages of its magazine to political prisoners from several countries to speak to the North American public. It has printed statements by Régis Debray, Héctor Béjar, and Hugo Blanco, as well as by many prisoners who wished to remain anonymous.

The general tasks of the committee are spelled out in its statement of aims: to aid in defending victims of political persecution, regardless of their particular beliefs; to organize actions within the United States to put pressure on Latin American governments; to inform and arouse public opinion here on the repression, exposing any complicity of the U.S. government in these violations of democratic rights; and to cooperate with other defense committees throughout the world on this issue.

The officers and sponsors of the USLA Justice Committee include a wide spectrum of liberal and radical opinion in this country. Among them are Paul Sweezy, editor of *Monthly Review*; Professor Herbert Marcuse, University of California at La Jolla; John Gerassi, former *Newsweek* editor and author of *The Great Fear in Latin America*; Felix McGowan, former Maryknoll priest in Latin America; Richard Garza, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party; Herbert Aptheker, Communist Party; James Petras, professor of political science at Pennsylvania State University; and Conrad Lynn, prominent civil liberties attorney.

Funds are urgently needed to carry on and expand this work. They should be sent to USLA Justice Committee, P.O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001. Subscriptions to the *USLA Reporter* (\$2 for 10 issues) and materials on the Argentine campaign can also be ordered from the same address, or by calling (212) 924-0894.



Argentina's dictator General Alejandro Lanusse

2,500 in N.Y. Irish solidarity action

By FRANK MANNING

NEW YORK—When the Regimental Band, Pipes, Drums, and Dancers of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II's Scots Guards performed at Madison Square Garden here Jan. 22 and 23, they were met by significant protests.

The demonstration Jan. 22 drew 500 people despite freezing temperatures and a driving rain. Twenty-five hundred people took part in the following day's march and rally, the largest ever held in the U.S. against British repression in Northern Ireland.

The actions were organized by the National Association for Irish Freedom (NAIF); the Irish Republican Clubs, USA and Canada (IRC); and the Northern Aid Committee. NAIF is a U.S. support group of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), which has organized mass civil rights demonstrations in Northern Ireland the past several years and is currently coordinating the mass civil disobedience campaign against British repression there. The IRC is the North American support group of the Official Irish Republican Army and Sinn Fein Movement. The Northern Aid Committee is the U.S. support group of the Provisional Irish Republican Army and Sinn Fein Movement.

Speakers at the Jan. 23 rally included Ivan Barr, chairman of NICRA; Mary Cotter and John Keane, joint general secretaries of the IRC; and Representative Edward Koch (D-N.Y.). An earlier rally by the Northern Aid Committee featured Representative Mario Biaggi (D-N.Y.).

Both Koch and Biaggi urged demonstrators to write letters to their representatives about the sad conditions in Northern Ireland. Barr, Cotter, and Keane called for continued mass demonstrations in the streets, both in the U.S. and in Northern Ireland, as the most effective way to mobilize mass sentiment against British repression.

For further information about future demonstrations and about the situation in Ireland in general, readers can contact the Irish Republican Clubs, USA and Canada, 37-76 64th St., Woodside, N.Y. 11377. Telephone: (212) 651-5844.

emergency proclaimed by the Canadian government after an FLQ kidnapping] showed them how the regime could profit from spectacular explosions which are isolated from any revolutionary strategy." He felt the FLQ actions benefit "only those who use the permanent 'FLQ menace' to increase the motivations and the opportunities to club the liberation movement of the Québec masses, while waiting for the 'big' chance that will allow them to do everything in their power to break the back of the movement once and for all."

However, Vallières unfortunately views support to the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) as part of his new orientation to the masses. Alain Beiner, a leader of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière in Québec, described Vallières' evolution in the Jan. 17 *Labor Challenge*: "Analyzing the present political conjuncture, Vallières defines the task of revolutionaries today: educating, organizing and mobilizing the masses, rather than learning to handle arms and plant bombs. To be sure, Vallières is mistaken when he concludes that it is necessary to join the Parti Québécois, which he considers to be the vehicle of our liberation. The bourgeois PQ is a deformed expression of the mass movement and an obstacle to the development and mobilization of this same mass movement." The PQ has opposed the major struggles that have led to a deepening of the class, nationalist, and socialist consciousness within the Québec working class, including the Oct. 16 mass mobilization of 8,000 in defense of a French Québec and the Oct. 29 mobilization of 10,000 in support of the striking *La Presse* workers.

Palestine bases in Syria attacked

By TONY THOMAS

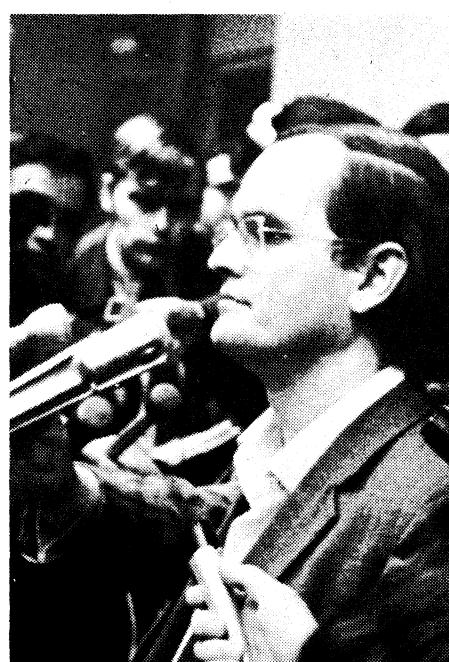
Continuing its offensive against Palestinian bases in Arab countries, Israel on Jan. 24 launched an air attack on Palestinian commando bases 20 miles inside Syria near the town of Dera. The Jan. 25 *New York Times* reported, "A Syrian military spokesman was quoted by the Damascus radio today as having said that Syrian air defenses drove off Israeli fighter planes"

According to the Jan. 26 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, the raids centered on the Tel Arar camp, "one of two most important concentrations of commandos—sheltering nearly 200 fedayeen." The other is in southern Lebanon. In early January, the Israelis raided these bases in southern Lebanon.

The Dera region, near the Jordanian border, has been the main center for the guerrilla bases since the fedayeen were expelled from Jordan and their camps were eliminated by King Hussein's army last July.

The *Times* reported that the guerrillas had shifted their operations from southern Lebanon to this area in recent weeks. "The shift," according to the *Times* dispatch, "followed pressure from Lebanese authorities in wake of an Israeli warning to Lebanon that troops would be sent in if guerrilla raids did not stop."

The Arab capitalist regimes that allowed the Jordanians to crush the Palestinian resistance in 1970 and 1971 are now acceding to Israeli attacks on their territories to carry out the same task. Despite "protests" by leaders of these regimes, they are complicit in the Israeli imperialists' drive against the Palestinian resistance.



Pierre Vallières

Chicago Black leaders and the Hanrahan affair

The following is the second of two articles.

By NORMAN OLIVER

CHICAGO—Last week we showed how the Chicago Democratic Party machine of Mayor Richard Daley, in total disregard for the sentiment in the Black community, resisted State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan for the primary election ballot. And how in response to the angry reaction in the Black community, Raymond Berg was put forward by the machine as a substitute candidate. The necessary nominating petition signatures were forged for the occasion.

Hanrahan then defied his boss by stating his intention to run with or without the open endorsement of the machine. We said this chain of events showed once again that the Democratic Party does not in any way represent the interests of the masses of Black people, that Black people need a party of their own, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

But not a single prominent Black leader in Chicago, or elsewhere, raised this alternative to continued subordination to the two capitalist parties.

There was lots of militant rhetoric. Reverend Jesse Jackson, at that time the suspended director of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket and about to launch PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), correctly said that Hanrahan's slating was "an insult to the Black race." He said, "A mass mobilization is going to take place and

the Democratic Party will be split in two." And, "I will exhaust every energy I have to defeat Hanrahan."

But Jackson limited himself to threats to support an "independent," non-machine Democrat in the primary or a Republican in the general election. According to the Dec. 7 *Chicago Today*, he warned that he and other Black leaders could "form a bridge on which Republicans, for the first time, can move into the Black community."

Black Panther Party leader Bobby Rush likewise used militant rhetoric. In the *Chicago Daily Defender* of Dec. 25-31 he is quoted as saying that Black people must be liberated from "the blood-sucking, murdering clutches of the Daley regime." And, "The corrupticians of the Democratic Party have resorted to the type of treachery that is characteristic of any repressive, putrescent regime." Rush even said, "We will educate our people to insure that they will not again fall victim to the wolf in sheep's clothing, the Democratic Party."

But how does Rush propose carrying out this commendable goal? "We will organize a voter registration and education campaign" to "make sure Hanrahan is not reelected." The clear implication is that the Panthers will hustle votes for a Democrat in the primary. They would have to choose between Berg and "independent" Democrat (and also a former FBI agent) Donald Page Moore. If Hanrahan wins the Democratic nomination in

the primary, can we assume that the Panthers would support the Republicans in the general election?

In the *Sun-Times* of Jan. 7 Rush is quoted as saying of this strategy, "Going after the voters will show the Daley machine we've learned to go after them where it counts." So "where it counts" is in the Democratic or Republican parties. But for years these parties, especially the Democratic Party, have been the burial ground for once-militant social movements that gave up their independence in favor of the more "practical" politics of the "progressive," or at a minimum "lesser evil," capitalist politicians.

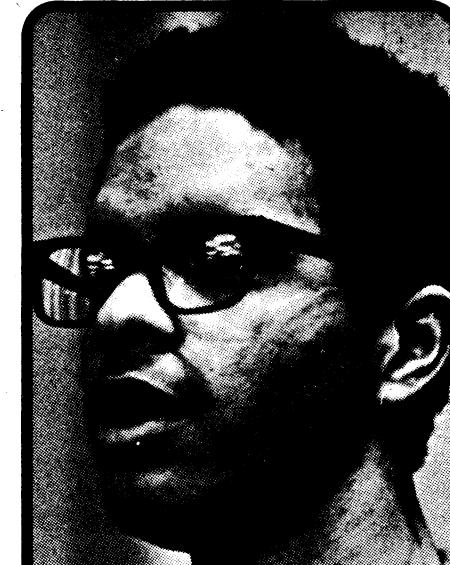
Reverend Jackson epitomized this approach in the 1971 elections in Illinois when he urged Black people to "cross party lines" and support some Democrats and some Republicans. According to the Nov. 2 *Defender*, Jackson endorsed Adlai Stevenson III, the Democratic-machine-approved candidate for U.S. Senate in 1970, with the classic lesser-evil rationale: "he's all we got compared to who he's running against."

Republican Benjamin Adamowski was endorsed by Jackson for Cook County assessor, against the Democrat P.J. Cullerton.

The logic of lesser evilism is clearly revealed in this case. "Vote for Adamowski or satan, but just don't vote for Cullerton," Jackson stated. "It might be better to have a new tyrant."

We will continue to have Democratic

Continued on page 22



Norman Oliver is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cook County state's attorney. Oliver says, "I would use the resources of the office not to move on the poor, women, the Black community, and the young, as it is being used now, but to prosecute the real criminals in Cook County. The real criminals include Edward Hanrahan, the current Cook County state's attorney, who is guilty of murdering Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in December 1969."

"I will campaign in support of the formation of an independent Black political party, which could mobilize the Black community outside the framework of the racist, capitalist Democratic and Republican parties."

Hanrahan prevents abortion for young prisoner

By SUZANNE HAIG

CHICAGO, Jan. 28—This morning a news conference was held in Chicago on the steps of the federal court building to protest the denial of an abortion to a 15-year-old woman who is an inmate in the Audy Home, a detention center for minors in Chicago.

This woman, whose name has not been released, was granted her request to have an abortion by Cook County Circuit Court Judge William Sylvester White after a Juvenile Court hearing. At the hearing two psychiatrists testified that she was suicidal and would kill herself if she is not allowed to have an abortion.

Judge White's decision granting the abortion was appealed, however, by State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan. Yesterday the Illinois Supreme Court ruled 4 to 3 that the young woman could not have an abortion.

One Supreme Court decision is presently being appealed on the grounds that the Illinois abortion law is unconstitutional. The appeal was argued this morning in federal court by Sybilla Fritch, an attorney from the American Civil Liberties Union.

At the news conference this morning a broad spectrum of women's organizations condemned the Supreme Court's denial of the young woman's right to an abortion.

Present at the conference were: Mary Ann Lupa, president of the Chicago National Organization for Women; Ju-

dith Lonnquist, a candidate for the Democratic Party nomination for state representative in Chicago; State Representative Leland Rayson; Kit Duffy, representing The Sisterhood; Kathy Morkert, representing the Lutheran Women's Caucus; and Dianne Rupp of the Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition.

The news conference was initiated by IWAC, the Illinois affiliate of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), and was supported by a number of other women's organizations. It was covered by all the major TV, radio, and press in Chicago.

According to Patrick Murphy, another attorney for the young woman, Hanrahan got two state psychiatrists to interview the woman. When they too agreed that she was suicidal and would kill herself if she did not get an abortion, Hanrahan refused to allow them to testify. Then he flew in a psychiatrist from Minneapolis, and that psychiatrist was not allowed to testify either. So Hanrahan is having a hard time getting expert opinion to sustain his case.

Murphy is now attempting to get custody of the woman through the Cook County Circuit Court in order to fly her to New York for an abortion.

State bullies Soledad witness

By NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO—Recent developments in the trial of Soledad Brothers John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo include testimony by a "star" prosecution witness who has obviously been

intimidated by the state; a judicial order Jan. 18 compelling Cluchette and Drumgo to fly from San Quentin prison to their trial in the San Francisco Hall of Justice in an Army-National Guard helicopter; and the leveling of a contempt citation against defense counsel Floyd Silliman by presiding Judge Spiro Vavuris.

Silliman protested the helicopter flights Jan. 19 on the grounds that Cluchette does not like to fly, and that the mass media's revelations of the flight were a violation of the judge's own "gag rule" about discussing trial security.

In response, Vavuris, a Governor Reagan appointee, arrogantly declared, "You can't conceal this sort of thing in an enlightened democracy . . . perhaps we are so steeped in tradition that anything except a horse and buggy seems extreme."

Continuing his discourse on the virtues of the helicopter, Vavuris said, "We will grow to understand it, to accept it . . . just think, they will get to see the panoramic vistas of the Bay Area—for free."

Later in the day Silliman was cited for contempt when he complained that prosecutors Ed Barnes and William Curtis were allowed considerably more latitude inside the courtroom than the defense counsel. His sentencing will take place at the conclusion of the trial.

Cross-examination of "star" prosecution witness Thomas A. Yorke during the week of Jan. 10 revealed the degree of brutal intimidation the California Department of Corrections has resorted to in order to force inmates to testify for the state.

Yorke, a 34-year-old Black British Honduran, alleges that he saw Cluchette, Drumgo, and George Jackson beat guard John Mills with their hands and a flashlight before dumping the officer off the third tier of "Y" wing of Soledad prison on the evening of Jan. 16, 1970.

The well-coached witness readily admitted that his current statements contained many reversals from the tes-

timony he gave the Monterey County grand jury two years ago. Yet Yorke said that he does not want his parole board to think that he is a "double-liar."

Yorke had initially denied any knowledge about Mills' death. But a few days later he requested a meeting with the prison chaplain. After spiritual consultation he changed his story to implicate the defendants.

Prison officials, wary of the possibility of another reversal, placed Yorke on the "bicycle" (rapid transfers from one prison to another throughout California and Nevada). At every stop along the route, Yorke was warned by prison officials that the inmate population had been informed he was going to testify for the state in the Soledad murder trial.

The ringleader in terrorizing him was the infamous Soledad guard captain, Charles Moody. He told Yorke, "Well, Tom, if you don't make up your mind about testifying for the prosecution, I'll have to put you back in the mainline [readmission into the general prison population]." Yorke claimed on the witness stand that this would be tantamount to certain death.

Two earlier state witnesses provided absolutely no support for Yorke's version of John Mills' death. Theodore Elzerman, a criminologist summoned to Soledad moments after the discovery of Mills' body, emphasized that after a diligent study of the defendants' and Mills' blood type, he found no evidence that "incriminated or exonerated anyone."

Fingerprint expert Spiros T. Vasos, with equal dismay, reported, "No, I could not identify the fingerprints of the two surviving defendants in any of the evidence."

Union bureaucrats refuse to challenge wage controls



Photo from The Butcher Workman

President Nixon with Pay Board member George Meany

By MILTON ALVIN

The smooth transition of President Nixon's economic program from Phase One to Phase Two, accomplished with the cooperation of AFL-CIO President George Meany, United Auto Workers (UAW) President Leonard Woodcock, and other officials of the country's largest unions, may have come as a surprise. Judging from the first reactions of the union leaders, some people may have expected a more bumpy passage.

Like most other Americans, the union bureaucrats were caught off-guard by Nixon's unexpected announcement of a 90-day wage freeze on Aug. 15. Although they had been demanding wage controls prior to Nixon's announcement, they were irritated that they had not been consulted about Nixon's new program. Furthermore it irked them that it was a Republican rather than one of their Democratic "friends" who imposed the wage freeze. Their initial statements reflected their disgruntlement as well as their attempt to save face with the union rank and file.

In response to Nixon's attack, lower-echelon labor officials were reported calling for a nationwide strike of at least one day to protest the president's move. Meany called Nixon's policies "antiworker" and "probusiness." To this correct, mild, and even restrained assertion, Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson replied that Meany was "out of step" with American workers. Meany countered with the charge that the president's policies were "patently unfair and discriminatory," since they limited wages but not profits or interest rates.

West Coast longshoremen, who had been on strike for several weeks when the freeze began, decided to continue their walkout despite a government order to return to work at once. The order was accompanied by threats of injunctions, fines up to \$5,000 a day, contempt of court charges, and jail sentences. Almost all unions said they would fight the president's attempt to ban strikes.

Union leaders around the country reacted angrily to what some labeled "unconstitutional White House tyranny." John Henning, head of the 1.6 million member California Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO), said, "Mr. Nixon's edict that all strikers return to work at once is nothing else than a call for industrial warfare in a society already bleeding from unprec-

ted social divisions." This statement was typical of many made by union leaders in the week following Nixon's inauguration of Phase One.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock made one of the strongest statements when he pointed out that "while it was Nixon's hand that wielded the dagger, it was the Democrats in Congress that put together and insisted on the law under which he did it." Woodcock threatened that the UAW would consider its contracts null and void if President Nixon extended his wage freeze past 90 days. "If they want war," he thundered, "they can have war."

In the face of this response by union leaders, the Nixon administration decided to retreat a few steps in order to appear as conciliatory as possible and to make it easier for the union officials to back off from their stated opposition to the program. It would be impossible for the administration to fulfill its aims without their active cooperation.

The first step was to announce that the government would not impose sanctions against strikes unless they were called to force employers to pay higher wages during the 90-day freeze period. Next, the administration assured the union leaders that the Pay Board would be independent of higher government authority and not subject to the veto of Treasury Secretary John B. Connally.

Bureaucrats and Pay Board

These concessions did not amount to much, especially since labor was outnumbered 2 to 1 on the Pay Board. The board includes five members each from employers, labor and (supposedly) the public. What this meant became clear right after the board was formally constituted. A policy was adopted by a 10-to-5 vote that future wage raises be limited to only 5 percent a year. The "public" members, of course, voted with the employers against the five labor representatives.

By the same margin the board prohibited retroactive pay increases that became due during the 90-day first phase. This ruling would deprive those scheduled for such raises of many millions of dollars and mean that this money would automatically be funneled into the pockets of the employers.

The Pay Board's future was put in doubt when its labor members threatened to resign if these proposals were

not substantially modified. Woodcock, a member of the board, called the proposals "insulting." At this point, scenting the chance to make a political gain, the Democratic-controlled House Banking and Currency Committee jumped into the dispute and voted legislation backing the granting of retroactive pay. The Senate Banking Committee later took a similar position.

As a result the Pay Board was pressured into modifying its original proposal and permitting most wage increases provided for by existing contracts. These were to take effect after the 90-day period expired. Future wage raises were to be limited to 5.5 percent, a 10 percent increase over the previous decision. The labor members of the board, however, remained dissatisfied and continued to vote against these proposals. Nevertheless, they were adopted by another 10-to-5 majority.

At this point, when it seemed that an impasse had been reached, an unidentified AFL-CIO spokesman reportedly stated that the chances of labor representatives remaining on the board "are just about zero, but that decision will not be made with finality until the AFL-CIO convention in about two weeks [Nov. 18-22]." However, Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, a member of the Pay Board, declared that "As of now, at least, I do not plan to take a walk." Woodcock also played down the chances of a walkout by the labor members.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union executive board called for a nationwide strike, if necessary, to reverse pay regulations adopted by the board. On Nov. 22 thousands of meat cutters stopped work to hear their secretary-treasurer, Patrick Gorman, on a nationwide radio hookup.

A high AFL-CIO official reported his organization was being flooded with telegrams from union members urging a nationwide strike to protest wage controls. These demands reflected the views of the ranks of organized labor even more accurately than the demagogic statements of the top union leaders.

The one-day special convention of the UAW in Detroit on Nov. 13 voted to go along with Woodcock's position of staying on the Pay Board. Opponents of this view were able to get the support of only a small minority of delegates. This preceded a similar development at the AFL-CIO convention, where it was decided to call a partial boycott of the Pay Board. The independent UAW and Teamsters have taken a similar position. However, this "boycott" does not mean getting off the board.

The AFL-CIO convention called on all unions to strike against "unfair rulings." It also decided to challenge unfavorable rulings in court and to mount a massive campaign to get Congress to reverse Pay Board decisions considered adverse to labor. No sign of such a campaign, or for that matter any other kind of campaign, has yet materialized.

A group of Black delegates and Black community leaders at the convention called for a one-day strike and other actions against the wage controls. Their demands, however, were ignored. Speaking on the convention's decision regarding the Pay Board, Meany said, "If the president of the United States doesn't like the terms laid down here, then let him kick us out. It's as simple as that."

In describing the board, he declared, "It all adds up to a stacked deck. It adds up to playing with loaded dice. There is no hope, or very little hope, for equity."

Despite these accurate descriptions, Meany evidently does not object too much to playing against stacked decks and loaded dice. Neither he nor other labor members of the board have left it. Nixon, of course, has no intention of kicking the labor members off the board as long as they are willing to let the 2-to-1 majority kick them around.

Bureaucrats and Democrats

Much of the pulling and hauling between the administration and the union leaders is inspired by political considerations, particularly the 1972 presidential elections. The union leaders are committed in advance to supporting the Democratic candidate, whoever that will be. At the same time, the union bureaucracy must put up a front that makes it appear to the ranks that they are fighting in their interests. Otherwise, their base in the union movement would be in danger of disappearing, and with it their influence and soft jobs.

The union officials have decided to remain on the Pay Board and cooperate with it as much as they can. One important reason for this is that they do not want to be put in a position where they can be blamed for the failure of Nixon's program. When the program fails, the union leaders can say they made an effort to make it work. They think they can then blame Nixon for the failure and obtain greater support for the Democratic candidate for president. The misleaders of the union movement never mention the fact that all the Democratic hopefuls vying for the nomination support the wage controls just as much as Nixon.

Meany and his associates among the labor tops are trying to show their members how to stand up to the new attack against them. Meany evidently thinks he can do it most effectively by setting the example himself. To make this point clear, he had the AFL-CIO convention vote him a pay increase of \$20,000, from \$70,000 to \$90,000 a year. Anyone can see from this that Meany is a nonsense chap whose policy is to meet adverse conditions with his chin up and a stiff upper lip.

The union officialdom's response has prevented any real struggle against the biggest attack on labor in 25 years. It leaves the ranks of the workers, both organized and unorganized, vulnerable to the Nixon administration's plans to unload on them the cost of the economic crisis.

What the workers need is a leadership that will fight in their interests. The present leaders of the unions, making salaries that are five to 10 times more than those of the workers, are unable and unwilling to do that.

The present crisis of leadership in the unions will be resolved when new people fight to establish an alternative leadership around a class-struggle program. Such a leadership would have called a congress of labor, representing all unions, to decide upon a program of struggle against the government's wage controls. It would call for the formation of a new political party based on the unions—a labor party.

**from Pathfinder
LEON TROTSKY
ON THE TRADE UNIONS/95c**

Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

L.A. rally for equal rights amendment

By TYBIE MARTIN

LOS ANGELES—An impressive number of Los Angeles women, including members of Theta Sigma Phi (the national society for women in journalism) and a coalition of women's professional groups, sponsored a lively and well-organized meeting in support of the Equal Rights Amendment Jan. 14.

Using the device of "each one bring one," they gathered together many people from the upper echelons of the California political, business, and professional world, including Governor Ronald Reagan and Senators Alan Cranston and John Tunney. Participating with token words of support for the "ladies" were numerous councilmen, rabbis, business executives, actors, and assorted legal and professional bigwigs.

The gathering, held in the Plaza of old Los Angeles, was well publicized by the *Los Angeles Times*. It attracted women and men who urged that the U.S. Senate pass the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

This amendment was first introduced in Congress in 1923. It was passed in the House by a vote of 354 to 23 in October 1971 and is expected to reach the Senate next month. The equal rights asserted in the Fourteenth Amendment still do not afford legal protection for women

against discrimination with regard to property, employment, education, and social security.

The speakers, conservative and liberal alike, urged all supporters to write letters to the president and to Congress to pass the amendment.

It is significant that even these upper-class professional women have been moved to positive action by the example of the women's liberation movement.

Red-baiting attack on Lordstown workers

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND, Jan. 27—The bitter dispute between management of the General Motors plant in Lordstown, Ohio and Local 1112 of the United Auto Workers union took a new turn when the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, in an interview with the local union's president, injected the issue of the "infiltration of subversives." The dispute at Lordstown concerns GM's efforts to force workers to conform to what may be the world's fastest assembly line.

Falsely quoting Gary Bryner, president of Local 1112, a *Plain Dealer* staff writer reported in the Jan. 26 issue that "Subversives by the carload from Cleveland, the Cincinnati area and New York have come here trying to exploit the labor-management dispute."

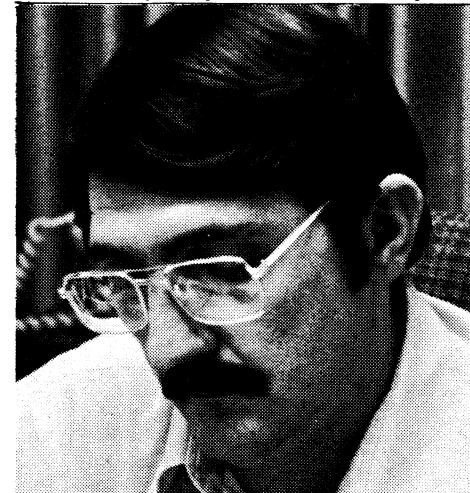
The *Plain Dealer* and the *New York*

Times have recently focused their attention on the Lordstown dispute. It is a microcosm of the larger struggle on a national scale between the corporations and young workers who fight speedup and refuse to be intimidated by disciplinary layoffs and dismissals.

In Lordstown, GM has accused the workers of slowdown and outright sabotage of the Vega automobiles that are produced at the rate of 100 per hour. To increase profits, GM has in the past three months laid off more than 700 workers, while attempting to maintain the same assembly line speed of approximately one car every 40 seconds.

Bryner is quoted in the Jan. 23 *New York Times* as saying, "These guys have become tigers. They've got guts. You used to not see them at union meetings. Now we've got them in the cafeteria singing 'Solidarity!'"

One assembly line worker told the *Times*, "I actually saw a woman in the plant running along the line to keep up with the work. I'm not going to run for anybody. There ain't anyone



Gary Bryner Photo by Bruce Cline

in that plant that is going to tell me to run."

Several methods are being used to housebreak the young union. Ohio Governor John J. Gilligan last week announced that Bryner has been named one of the 14 Ohioans to receive the 1972 Governor's Award for his "outstanding labor leadership."

Another method being used is the discredited McCarthyite practice of red-baiting and guilt by association. Bryner and J. D. Smith, secretary-treasurer of the union local, endorsed the Oct. 13 demonstrations against the war and the National Peace Action Coalition convention Dec. 3-5 in Cleveland. The interview with Bryner in the *Plain Dealer* on Jan. 26 quotes the notorious House Internal Security Committee as identifying NPAC as "an affiliate of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party." The article claimed that Bryner "discontinued his endorsement of the organization [NPAC] when he learned that it favors the overthrow of the American system through a workers' revolution."

Bryner denied making the red-baiting statements the following day in a rebuttal carried by the Jan. 27 *Plain Dealer*. According to that article, Bryner said, "I did tell the reporter I endorsed one peace march, but that was the only connection I ever had with them." He also denied saying that "subversives by the carload" had come to exploit the labor-management dispute.

The *Plain Dealer*'s articles were also answered by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition, the local NPAC affiliate, in a letter to the editor dated Jan. 27. It condemned "this attack on the antiwar movement" and demanded "that the *Plain Dealer* print the truth about the National Peace Action Coalition and the antiwar movement."

The National Picket Line

THE HIGH RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT in the Seattle area (officially listed at 12 percent but actually much higher) has drawn world attention to the weakness of the U.S. economy and brought international aid to the victims.

There are about 75,000 registered unemployed in the Seattle area, in a population of less than 1.5 million. At one time Boeing Aircraft employed more than 100,000; its work force is now 38,000.

The unemployed collect surplus food, mostly dried beans, powdered eggs, and whatever else is available. None of it makes for a very good living or a balanced diet.

Reynard A. Pilgrim, port agent of the National Maritime Union, wrote in the January *NMU Pilot*: "We in Seattle have seen the worst. The unemployment rate is the highest in the country, people starving." He tells about "Neighbors in Need" groups that distribute food to needy families, adding that "even the city of Kobe, Japan, is collecting food for the poor in Seattle."

Senator Warren Magnuson (D-Wash.), telling the U.S. Senate about the Japanese aid sent to his home state, said, "I have never felt disgraced by my government. But today I stand here on the floor of the greatest deliberative body in the world in total humiliation."

This is standard Senate rhetoric. But the official spokesmen for the union movement have done and said nothing different from Senator Magnuson, who has served as a mouthpiece for Boeing in Washington since the early days of World War II.

Until now the unions in Seattle have limited their fight against unemployment to demands for extension of unemployment insurance payments, surplus food, and federal appropriations for a public works program. They look forward to a revival of the New Deal-era Works Progress Administration (WPA).

The union movement in Seattle has the power to force relief measures far beyond the surplus food handout. They could win an immediate emergency work program from the city and state governments and demand that it be financed by federal government appropriations. They could stop further layoffs in industry. They could impose a shorter workday with no reduction in take-home pay in order to provide jobs for the thousands of unemployed. But to accomplish this would require mass demonstrations of the employed and unemployed together, called by the unions and demanding a job for every unemployed man and

woman. This means that the unions would begin to mobilize their own independent political power and stop hoping for the Democratic Party to solve unemployment.

A NEW YORK TRANSIT WORKER reports an experience that reveals a good deal about the mentality and methods of top officials in many unions:

"The demonstrations scheduled by transit workers in front of their union headquarters Jan. 15 did not materialize."

"The Transit Authority and the union officials have a plan to demoralize the workers. The first step was taken Jan. 8 and Jan. 9 when a dozen accused demonstrators and 'ringleaders' were subpoenaed to appear in court Jan. 10. The second step was to attach slips on the pay checks of 1,300 workers who reported sick Jan. 7. These slips threatened the workers with the New York State Taylor Law, which provides for penalties ranging from loss of pay to discharge. The third step was to spread as much dissension and division as possible in the ranks of the workers."

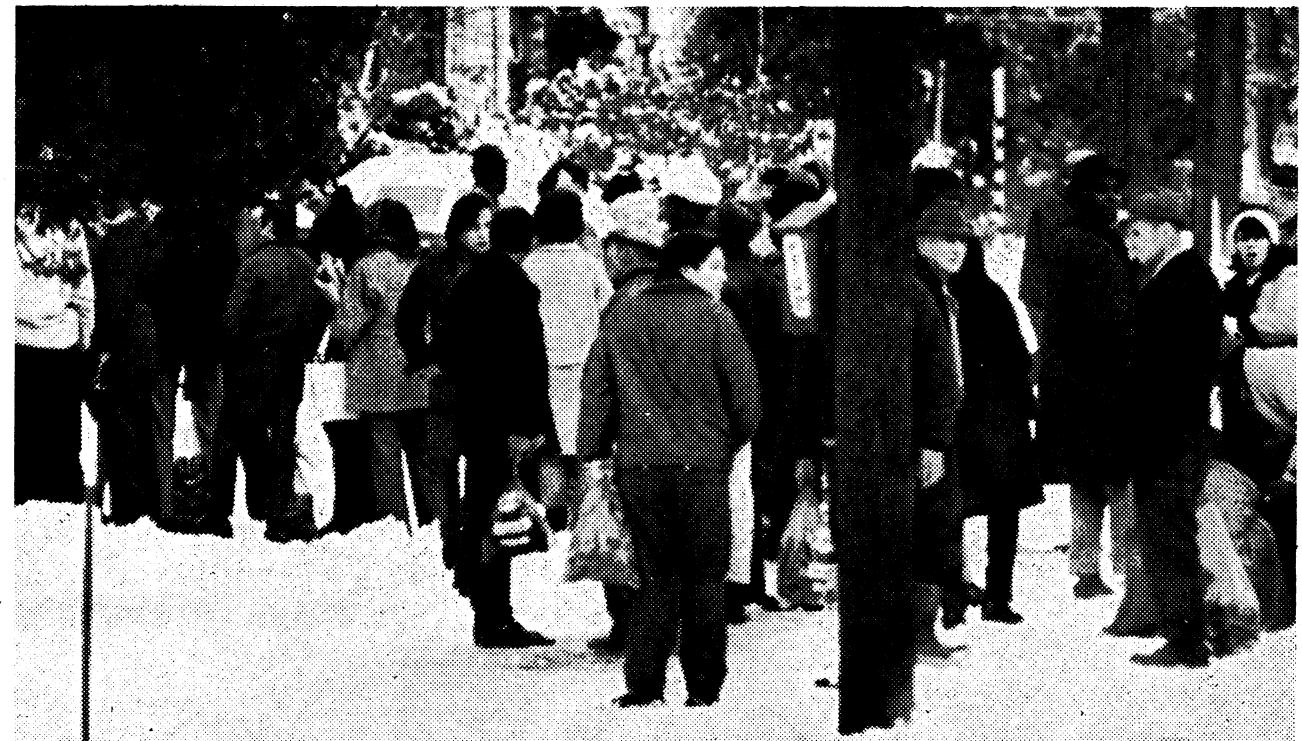
"This last step of the plan to demoralize the workers is the most complicated and the most effective. Here is how it works. The train repair shops were saturated with overtime work, keeping many on the job and away from the Jan. 15 demonstration. The union bureaucrats then had their hangers-on circulate rumors and false reports, like 'the people in the car shops are using you to get extra overtime,' or telling ironworkers and carpenters that 'the motormen are making all the money.'

"These rumors played upon the racism of the white workers—motormen are mostly Black and the skilled trades are mostly white."

"The union bureaucrats also postponed mailing ballots for the vote on the union contract from Jan. 10 to Jan. 20, giving their flunkies additional time to create more dissension."

The officers of the Transport Workers Union approved a contract at the beginning of the year, a contract the New York Transit Authority liked but the transit workers didn't. They may make the contract stick for awhile, but they can't make the transit workers like it.

—FRANK LOVELL



Unemployed Seattle workers line up for free food

In Review

Film Angela Davis

Angela Davis: Portrait of a Revolutionary: Directed by Yolande du Lart. Produced by Mae Mercer. A documentary distributed by New Yorker Films.

Angela Davis: Portrait of a Revolutionary began as a school project by several University of California at Los Angeles film students about a then-controversial professor. The completed product, however, stands as a glowing tribute to Angela Davis' deep commitment to the Black liberation struggle. At the same time it is a stern refutation of the charges that she was criminally involved in the San Rafael shoot-out of Aug. 7, 1970.

In the San Rafael incident Jonathan Jackson was killed attempting to take several hostages in exchange for the release of his older brother, George, and the other two Soledad Brothers, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette.

Davis is alleged to have purchased the guns young Jackson used. As a result she has been charged with murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy. Denied the right to bail, she has been held in jail 15 months awaiting trial. Her only "crime," as the film illustrates very well, was to express her ideas on the injustices of the prison system and other aspects of capitalist society, and motivate others on the need to change them.

The film begins with her arrest and coverage of a demonstration against the arrest. The protest occurs outside the Women's House of Detention in New York. Davis can be seen peering through the window of her cell, overlooking the action on the street below. Through excellent film work, her voice can be heard explaining the reasons behind her arrest against the backdrop of the demonstration. This opening scene with its interplay between the voices of Davis and the protesters sets a mood for the film that is further captured in the cries for her freedom.

The film then backtracks through her life to when she was hired as a UCLA philosophy professor. An interview with the philosophy department head, who defends Angela's teaching qualifi-

cations, is contrasted to remarks by the state superintendent of public instruction, who opposes them. A distinct picture is outlined that shows the initial plot by the State of California to oust Davis from her teaching job.

The viewer is given a near-complete picture of Davis' character through varying scenes that show her as a classroom teacher, political activist, and speaker. In one scene we see her sitting with some friends in her apartment, recounting their immediate reaction toward the police attack on the Los Angeles Panther headquarters in December 1969. They discuss an approach to building a defense campaign in which there will be mass participation from the community.

The film, although begun in 1969, was completed after the incident at San Rafael. It draws attention to the fact that Davis was in the forefront of the effort to focus more attention on the subject of political prisoners and the case of the Soledad Brothers in particular. In one scene, now famous, she is seen demonstrating for the release of the Soledad Brothers. She is carrying a picket sign reading, "Save The Soledad Brothers From Legal Lynching." Beside her is close friend Jonathan Jackson.

Angela knew quite well the fate that might befall a fighter for social justice like herself. In one interview she freely explains this but nonetheless reaffirms her decision to continue the struggle in pursuit of her goals.

Angela Davis: Portrait of A Revolutionary won honors in the seventh Moscow film festival in July 1971. It was also entered in the San Francisco film festival in October. It received its New York debut at the Whitney Museum of Art and is currently showing at the New Yorker theater. But here lies the sole disappointing aspect of the film. Because it is not handled by a major film studio, it will not be seen by either the majority of those who are already convinced of Davis' innocence nor those who are yet to be convinced. If those still undecided could see this film, it would help win them over.

— BAXTER SMITH



Angela Davis in front of Los Angeles City Hall, December 1969, protesting police attack on Black Panther Party.

Pamphlets Abortion

Abortion: The Right to Choose. Published by Female Liberation. Boston, 1971. 50c.

Abortion: The Right to Choose is a special pamphlet put out by the same group that publishes the magazine *Second Wave*. It is an important document for the women's movement and brings together varying views and political, personal, and philosophical perspectives on abortion.

The key article is Nancy Williamson's "Abortion: A Feminist Perspective," in which she discusses the importance of abortion as an issue for the women's movement. There are two articles, one by a female doctor, and one by a nurse, discussing the physical process of abortion. Their emphasis is on new techniques and the struggle within the medical profession over legalized abortion.

Kelly Irwin writes of the plight of high school women.

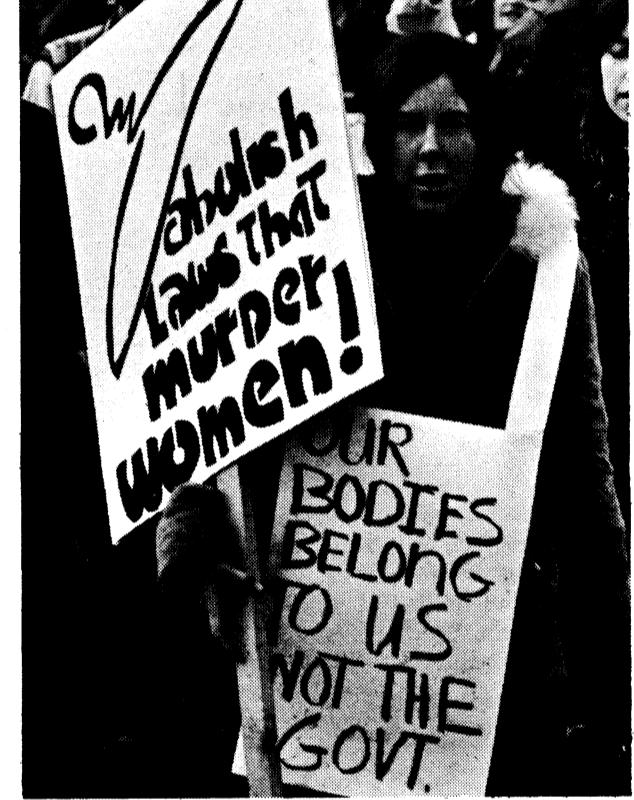


Photo by Howard Petrick

Bev Cole's "Black Women and the Motherhood Myth" condemns the sexism of male Black militants who define women as bearers of children and servants of Black men: "The gun in the hand of every Black man seems to mean also diaper swinging females following close behind."

I found the most moving article to be Diane Cecile's "Double Jeopardy: Handicapped Women," in which she discusses poignantly the special problems, such as forced sterilization, facing crippled women who seek an abortion.

Drs. Barbara Roberts and Mary Daly have written about the patriarchy and sexist ethics in relation to abortion. Other material deals with the struggle in the courts, the abortion fight in countries other than the United States, and two articles on the current abortion campaign in the U.S.

Second Wave itself has just come out with a new issue containing an article on the victorious referendum for free, 24-hour, community-controlled child care in Cambridge, Mass.; a political analysis of male sexuality as seen through Norman Mailer's "Prisoner of Sex"; and an article entitled "Lesbianism: A Political, Cultural, Personal View," which includes one of the most complete treatments to date of the relationship between the gay women's movement and the women's movement as a whole.

Abortion: The Right to Choose and *Second Wave* are both available from Female Liberation, Box 303 Kenmore Station, Boston, Mass. 02215. The abortion pamphlet is 50c for single copies and the magazine is \$1. Discounts on orders of 10 or more: 50 percent on the pamphlet, 25 percent on the magazine.

— KAREN LINDSEY

By LEE SMITH

A confessional article in the Jan. 27 *New York Review of Books* by a disillusioned former FBI special agent is especially interesting because of its specific revelations.

Offering an inside view of the FBI's Internal Security operations, 33-year-old Robert Wall describes an episode in which the FBI was able to sow dissension in the New Mobilization Committee. He also calls attention to the existence of a special squad in the Internal Revenue Service that investigates the tax records of "known militants and activists."

In describing what the FBI calls "counterintelligence," Wall writes of how in "one case we addressed a letter to the leaders of the National [sic] Mobilization Committee (NMC) which said that the blacks of Washington, D.C., would not support the upcoming rally of the NMC unless a twenty thousand dollar 'security bond' was paid to a black organization in Washington." Although he mis-names the national antiwar coalition and his account of the letter's demand is slightly off base, it is evident that his reference is to an incident that disrupted New Mobe's preparations for the Nov. 15, 1969, March on Washington of 800,000.

Wall indicates that, along with sending the letter, the FBI "instructed some informants we had placed in the black organization to suggest the idea of a security bond informally to leaders of the organization." He also states that the letter was "approved by the bureau's counterintelligence desk and was signed with the forged signatures of a leader of the black group."

Actually, according to the New Mobe steering committee minutes for Aug. 17-18, 1969, the demand raised by the Washington, D.C., Black United Front was that "the estimated number of participants be taxed \$1.00. . . . Ten percent of this projected number should be given now as an act of commitment to the struggle." The letter, bearing the forged signature of the Reverend Douglas Moore and mailed at about the same time to Abe Bloom of the Washington Action Committee and New Mobe steering committee, stated that "Because of the expressed strong opposition to any white-led convention in our Black City . . ." and "as a show of good faith from the New Mobilization on its commitment to assist black people to end colonial rule, the Black

Ex-agent reveals FBI methods of dividing the left

United Front is thus demanding an anti-colony tax. . . . the Central Committee believes an initial contribution of \$25,000 to the Black United Front is mandatory. . . ."

Some leaders of the New Mobe, backed up by such Washington Black community leaders as Julius Hobson, opposed this proposal from the beginning. In a letter to the Reverend Moore signed by national cochairmen Dave Dellinger and Stewart Meacham, the New Mobe's position was stated as follows:

"With respect to your demand that the Mobilization make a mandatory payment of \$25,000 to the Black United Front as a sign of its commitment to ending racism, we are not in a position to comply. As a coalition long dedicated to ending the war, racism and poverty, we cannot agree that we should be levied a sum of money. . . . Quite apart from the feasibility of collecting the funds . . . as a coalition we are not in a position to insist upon such a course of action where there are widely divergent political views and strategies represented."

However, many hours were consumed in discussions within New Mobe and in negotiations with the BUF before this position was arrived at. Initially, part of the New Mobe leadership had been taken in by the faulty logic of the BUF/FBI demand.

There was another forged letter involved in the dispute, which Wall fails to mention. This was a viciously racist letter sent to the BUF bearing the signature, "Comradely, Sid." (The signature was apparently intended to make it seem that the letter had come from New Mobe coordinator Sidney Peck.) The letter was extremely crude

—calling Black people "monkeys" and talking about "bananas"—and thus not difficult to discredit, but it managed to cause another minor flare-up. Ultimately, the BUF dropped its demand and joined in building Nov. 15.

Wall's article also details the wide-reaching surveillance undertaken by the FBI's Internal Security branch in connection with what it calls "Racial Matters." He comments that he became aware of the "appalling racism of the FBI on every level" as he found that "every politically dissident black man [and, presumably, woman] was a candidate for investigation."

A particularly odious revelation was Wall's report that the Internal Revenue Service has a special squad "to investigate the tax records of 'known militants and activists.'" Even before the *New York Review* appeared on the stands, this portion of Wall's story was picked up by the *New York Times* and printed on its front page Jan. 13.

Wall relates how, in early 1969, he learned "by accident" of the IRS squad when the IRS requested the FBI records for a former SNCC member whose case Wall had been investigating for two years.

The Jan. 13 *New York Times* story, datelined Washington, pegged its lead on the official acknowledgement by Internal Revenue Commissioner Johnnie Walters that the IRS "has a special seven-man unit whose sole job is to collect information on extremist political organizations." The *Times* account also reported that the FBI had confirmed that Wall had been a special agent.

In an interview with *Times* reporter Robert M. Smith, Wall disclosed something he had not included in the *New*

York Review of Books article—that he had at one time been assigned to monitor phone calls of the Israeli embassy.

Other specific cases discussed in Wall's article were an investigation of the liberal Institute for Policy Studies and an all-out effort to discover "evidence" that Stokely Carmichael "had plotted, planned and directed" the spontaneous outbreak of rage in Washington's Black community after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in April 1968. "Fifty agents spent their full time for over a month on this one case," Wall wrote of the fishing expedition aimed at framing Carmichael.

"My experience has shown me," Wall concluded, "that the FBI . . . was a relentless guardian of orthodoxy, a police force which sought to cause harm to movements that boldly questioned the policies of the government."

Wall, a disillusioned ex-cop who still believes in the need for "an effective federal investigative agency," has done a service in providing the story of his experiences. It remains for the men and women engaged in fighting for social change to make explicit the lessons that are underscored by his confessions.

The best climate for the work of police agents who seek to disrupt and divide the left is also the worst for building a strong and growing movement—a climate where political differences are expressed through ultimatums in a situation of mutual distrust and secrecy. Conversely, the kind of open and democratic atmosphere in which differences can be discussed thoroughly, voted on, and tested in action, provides the best situation for building a movement and the worst for the machinations of government provocateurs.

The evident scrutiny of the IRS only reinforces the need for groups and individuals in the movement to treat financial matters scrupulously, with the utmost attention to making certain that money is used for the purpose for which it is solicited, etc. Even without the IRS, this is an extremely important matter for organizations that seek to win the confidence of people who have been swindled and cheated their whole lives.

The sensation caused by Wall's article should remind radicals that practices of the government they take for granted can, when proved to be true, fire the indignation of masses of people in this country.

Gay rights bill killed in New York City

By JOHN LAURITSEN

NEW YORK—Intro 475, a landmark bill that would have banned discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing, and public accommodations, was killed Jan. 27 by the New York City Council Committee on General Welfare. It voted 7 to 5 with one abstention to keep the bill in committee, thus preventing its submission to the full council.

Although Mayor Lindsay claimed the bill's defeat was a "disappointment to the administration," supporters of Intro 475 felt that Lindsay's lack of active support was responsible for the defeat.

Councilman Eldon R. Clingan, one of the bill's sponsors, has indicated that he will campaign in California's presidential primary against the mayor's inactivity and mere lip-service on

Intro 475. Councilman Robert I. Postel will likewise work against Lindsay in other states over the issue.

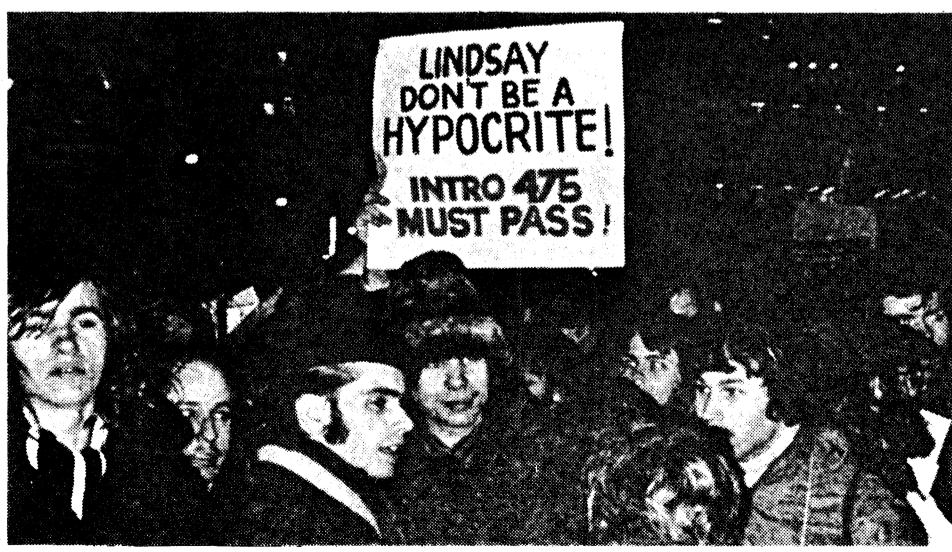
In the course of three public hearings held on Intro 475, strong support came from union leaders, politicians, educators, writers, feminists, psychologists, psychiatrists, civil libertarians, and historians. Many gay men and women detailed the discrimination and oppression they have experienced.

On Jan. 21, members of Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) presented three demands to a Lindsay aide: 1) that the fire, police, and sanitation commissioners testify for Intro 475 in person, a demand consistently made by the city council and first agreed to by Lindsay and then retracted; 2) that Lindsay deliver four votes for the bill to assure its succeeding in committee, votes of members of the city council he is known to be able to deliver but refuses to; 3) that he meet personally with GAA representatives. The demands were refused.

On Jan. 21, more than 200 gay men and women braved bitter cold and high winds to picket a meeting of 6,000 at Radio City Music Hall

where Lindsay was speaking. A statement by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, was passed out by Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. It reads, in part: "We support Intro 475, a bill that would grant to homosexuals basic democratic rights. Our party . . . unconditionally supports the struggles of homosexuals for full democratic rights, including full human rights, and against all the forms of discrimination and oppression gay people suffer in this society."

On Jan. 26, 25 GAA members confronted Lindsay's campaign manager, Richard Aurelio, at the Madison Avenue campaign headquarters. At one point, a demonstrator referred to the rights of "20 million gay people in America." A Lindsay aide retorted, "You mean 20 million fags!" When the bigotry involved in her statement was pointed out, a male Lindsay aide attacked the GAA member. Charges and counter charges of assault were later pressed. About 10 demonstrators were arrested on charges of criminal trespass and harassment.



Gay Activists Alliance pickets Lindsay Jan. 21

Photo by John Lauritzen

Calendar

DETROIT

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. Film by Sergei Eisenstein. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum. For more information, call 831-6135.

NEW YORK

BENEFIT DANCE. Sponsored by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (MPI). Sat., Feb. 5, 9 p.m. Casa de las Americas, 106 W. 14 St., Third Floor. Donation: \$2.50. For more information, call 475-9128.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

Socialist Workers presidential candidate Linda Jenness speaks at women's meeting. Wed., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. at Pauley Ballroom, U.C. Berkeley. Cosponsored by Female Liberation, Northern Calif. National Women's Political Caucus, Independent Campus Women, Women for Jenness and Pulley, and U.C. Davis Women's Center.

VIETNAM AND THE 1972 ELECTIONS: What the Pentagon Papers Prove. Speaker: Linda Jenness. Thurs., Feb. 17, 12 noon. Pauley Ballroom, Student Union Bldg., U.C. at Berkeley. Sponsored by SUPERB. For more information, call (415) 642-4536.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION AS A FORCE IN AMERICAN POLITICS. Speaker: Linda Jenness. Thurs., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. Haas Pavilion, Mills College, MacArthur Blvd. and Seminary Ave., Oakland. For more information, call (415) 632-2700.

LINDA JENNESS speaks at Golden Gate College, 536 Mission St., San Francisco, Fri., Feb. 18, 9:30 a.m. For more information, call (415) 864-5056.

LINDA JENNESS speaks at Gallery Lounge, San Francisco State College, San Francisco. Fri., Feb. 18, 12 noon. For more information, call (415) 864-5056.

LINDA JENNESS speaks at Diablo Valley College, Room H-109, 321 Golf Club Road, Pleasant Hill. Fri., Feb. 18, 1 p.m. For more information, call Student Activities Coalition, (415) 685-1230.

SAN FRANCISCO CAMPAIGN RALLY. Thurs., Feb. 10, 8 p.m. at Sanchez School, 325 Sanchez St. (between 16th and 17th Sts., near Market St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c.

CAMPAGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Sat. Feb. 19 at 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. 5 p.m.: refreshments. 6 p.m.: classical buffet dinner by Chefs for Jenness and Pulley. 8 p.m.: rally featuring Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, followed by revolutionary entertainment. Donation: \$5.

SEATTLE

CHILDREN'S LIBERATION. Speaker: Gloria Albee. Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 7 p.m. every Thursday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SISTERS IN STRUGGLE: Seminars on Women's Liberation. Classes include: Feb. 9: The Family—Reactionary or Progressive? Feb. 16: Women in the Russian Revolution. Feb. 23: The First Wave of Feminism. March 1: Current Trends in the Feminist Movement—a study of the Dialectic of Sex by Shulamith Firestone. Classes start at 8 p.m. and are free. All women invited. Militant Bookstore, 746 9th St. N.W.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathers, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 456, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 968-5738.

Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Claremont: YSA, c/o Mark Neithercut, Story House, Claremont Men's College, Claremont, Calif. 91711.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Robert Mattson, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-1988.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Barbara Thornton, 1316 Arapahoe Ave., Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 444-1440.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1100 Champa St., Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 127 Washington St., Apt. 106, Hartford, Conn. 06106.

New Haven: YSA and Socialist Workers '72 Campaign, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA c/o David Zimet, Box 13861 University Station, Gainesville, Fla. 32601. Tel: (904) 373-2627.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. (3rd floor), SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o John Center, 1407 Schnider Hall, Bush Towers, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 453-5882.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Don Caine, 446 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

...subs

Continued from page 3
subs or at least a single copy."

Hillman related one experience that she and the others said was typical of many campuses they visited and reflected the lack of organized expression of radical sentiment. "At Duke University, one person after another came up to the table we had set up, bought a sub and said, 'I'm the only person here who is interested in this.' So I started saying, 'You know, you're the tenth person who's told me you're the only one, you're the eleventh person, you're the twelfth.' And they said, 'Really? You've sold that many?' So before we left, we organized a meeting of all the people who bought subs so they could meet all the others who had thought they were the only ones."

All the team members agreed that the significance of Nixon's wage controls had not been fully recognized by most students in the fall.

"The article that described how price freezes had never worked in the past helped sell some," Sally Moore said. "But usually it helped more to mention that the paper also had coverage of Attica, of the George Jackson murder, of Angela Davis. People tended not to be as upset by the wage freeze because it hadn't become clear to them yet how big an attack this was."

One thing that was clear in the fall, the six unanimously stressed, was the attack on the right of women to control their bodies.

Moore said she had been surprised to find that women at Catholic campuses had the same reaction to this issue as other women. "I found no woman on a Catholic campus who didn't agree that abortion was something each woman should be able to decide for herself."

"There is a generalized combative and self-confident spirit among students," Woodrooffe stated. She said that even though no big struggles were going on, "There were lots of smaller fights—from free speech fights, to opposing the cutting down of trees—that showed how much the students feel this way."

Woodrooffe ended our discussion with an optimistic appraisal of the opportunities for spreading socialist ideas on the campuses. "When many of the students we talked to found out about the Socialist Workers Party election campaign, they were really interested. They saw Linda Jenness and

Andrew Pulley as the candidates who went naturally together with the 18-year-old vote, as their candidates—the candidates of the youth radicalization."

...Chicago

Continued from page 17

and Republican tyrants ruling the Black community until the masses of Black people and other key social forces, such as the labor movement and the Chicano people, break with the two capitalist parties and forge their own, independent, fighting parties that can match militant rhetoric with militant actions in the streets and at the ballot box.

The Illinois Socialist Workers Party is supporting this perspective during the 1972 elections with a large slate of candidates who have been active in trade unions, in Chicano and Black liberation struggles, in the women's liberation, student, and antiwar movements. Heading the SWP ticket are Fred Halstead for U.S. Senate and Pat Grogan for governor.

...dockers

Continued from page 24

two unions will honor each other's picket lines if pickets are flown from coast to coast to stop diverted cargo. The ILA and ILWU also agree that they will go back on strike if their wage agreements are not approved by the Pay Board. Further, both insist that contract-cancellation clauses to that effect be included in their contracts.

Things have changed. On the picket line morale is high, and the consensus is that the strike will be won, no matter what. According to an ILWU official, "If necessary we will just keep on voting down contracts and striking till the PMA and some of our so-called leaders know we mean business."

...Chile

Continued from page 13

by imperialism to tighten the screws on the Chilean economy, Allende has responded by continuing to play the electoral game, practicing class collaborationism. That strategy has blocked the mobilization of the Chilean workers and poor peasants and prevented the transformation of the nation's social system.

Paradoxically for Allende, it has also weakened his electoral position. The inability of the UP to carry out its own program, limited as it is, has caused the UP committees, the basis of the popular front formation at the time of the 1970 victory, to wither away. It has also led to an ebb in popular support for the regime, which has found its reflection on the electoral level.

The bourgeoisie, while welcoming Allende's adherence to an electoral process that enables it to block all important reform measures and take full advantage of its own victories, has shown no sign of confining its activities to parliamentarism. The electoral battles will no doubt continue, but the fate of the country will be settled on another level—the extra-parliamentary clash of social forces.

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THE MILITANT

West Coast dockers tighten strike

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 31—Striking West Coast longshoremen and ship clerks have been backed into a corner by a combination of enemies—the shipowners, the federal government, and an ineffectual strike strategy. But they have come out fighting, with greater prospects of winning than before. At the same time, President Nixon's attempt to get Congress to pass legislation to break the dock strike is bogged down in the House Subcommittee on Labor.

There are two important developments here. The strike is being tightened up along the coast, and in the Bay Area a conference of the labor movement is being called.

Bending to persistent rank-and-file pressure, at long last the Coast Strike Strategy Committee has finally cut off the flow of strike-diverted cargo from Canadian and Mexican ports. The committee is headed by Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

On the political level, ILWU Local 10 (San Francisco), on its own initiative, has called for an "Immediate Emergency Conference of all labor organizations, regardless of affiliation." The announced objective of this conference is to plan concerted action to de-

feat the attempt to break the ILWU strike.

Delegations headed by Local 10 of officials went to the San Francisco Labor Council, the San Francisco Building Trades Council, and the Alameda Labor Council (which represents the labor movement of Oakland and neighboring cities across the Bay). In all three bodies the call was passed unanimously. As soon as delegates from the unions are elected, the conference will be held.

In the meantime, Local 10 is engaged in a massive propaganda effort to acquaint people with the strike issues. Pickets from Local 10 are now to be seen all over the Bay Area, handing out leaflets and talking to people at union meetings, supermarkets, and in working-class districts.

The Local 10 leaflet being distributed is headed "Our Longshore Strike—Look Out, you and your union may be next." The leaflet continues: "Our employer—the Pacific Maritime Association—has failed to bargain in good faith. Phase One of the PMA's plan was to force a long and grueling strike with the intention of starving us into voting for a substandard contract. Failing in that attempt, Phase Two of the PMA's scheme is to sit back and await a pro-employer legislated settlement. In either event, their master plan

is to break the back of our union, and they have pursued this plan in complete disregard for the public. . . ."

The final two paragraphs of this leaflet read: "We are being asked to accept a set of PMA demands that would destroy the system of job-dispatch, which has always prevented discrimination and favoritism and ensured an equal opportunity to all of us.

"Since these demands seriously jeopardize our immediate economic welfare and long-term job security, while threatening the bare existence of our union, they are in fact a *basic issue* in our strike!"

This paragraph refers to the "steady man" issue, Section 9.43 of the contract, which gives the employer the right to bypass the union's job-rotating hiring hall.

This leaflet was well received everywhere.

For the time being the question of merging the ILWU with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has been shelved. But the two unions are at present collaborating in a picket line at the California-Mexico border. They have succeeded in stopping strike-diverted cargo from the Mexican port of Ensenada from entering the United States. It's quite simple. Union Teamsters just refuse to drive the loaded trucks from the border to

their United States destination, and will not allow non-union men to take their places.

For 100 days, from July 1 to Oct. 6, when the striking ILWU was forced back to work by a Taft-Hartley injunction, cargo diverted from struck West Coast ports was worked by union longshoremen in Vancouver, B. C., and Ensenada, Mexico, as part of the strategy developed by the ILWU Strike Strategy Committee.

During the 100-day strike, Vancouver's inbound tonnage increased 75 percent, and Ensenada handled 60 ships in the first 60 days of the strike, the Sept. 18 *Christian Science Monitor* reported. The ships of companies belonging to the PMA ran what the longshoremen call "the strike-breaking triangle." That is, first they would bring inbound cargo to Canada or Mexico, with U. S. cargo discharged for transshipment by truck. Second, the ships would sail empty to West Coast ports. Third, military and other outbound cargo for Guam, Cambodia, and Vietnam would be loaded by striking ILWU members.

This fancy game has now ended.

From the negotiations between the ILWU and the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) came two positive things. The

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Massive protests against killings in N. Ireland



Bernadette Devlin

By DAVE FRANKEL

FEB. 2—A general strike of Catholic workers has spread throughout Northern Ireland in the wake of the British army's murderous attack on a peaceful mass demonstration in Derry three days ago. A wave of anti-British protests is also occurring in the Republic of Ireland to the south.

Thirteen civilians were left dead and at least 16 wounded when British paratroopers opened fire with automatic weapons on a demonstration of between 15,000 and 20,000 called by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA). It was the most costly single attack on the Catholic national minority since the resurgence of the civil rights campaign in 1969.

Defying a government ban on all demonstrations, the protesters were demanding an end to the government's policy of internment under which some 755 Catholics have been imprisoned without charge or trial.

The attack, which was followed by 50 to 60 arrests, was defended by both the British and Northern Ireland governments. So far, however, not one witness has substantiated their claim that snipers fired at the British troops first. Catholic priests, members of the Northern Ireland and British parliaments, and community leaders have all charged that the paratroopers fired indiscriminately into the crowd and that the only incident prior to the attack was some rock throwing. Bernadette Devlin, a member of the British Parliament and an activist in the civil rights struggle of Northern Ireland's oppressed Catholic minority, was about to begin the rally at Free Derry Corner (Derry's equivalent to Hyde Park in London) when the attack began.

The *Irish Times*, published daily in Dublin and the most authoritative paper in the Republic of Ireland, carried front-page accounts of the events in Derry in its Jan. 31 issue. The articles, written by three reporters who were at the demonstration, gave similar accounts of the events. "Everyone, including journalists," said two of the *Times'* reporters in a co-signed

article, "were agreed that no nail bombs or petrol bombs had been thrown and there was certainly no hail of gunfire aimed at the troops. The army shot first. . . ."

According to the Feb. 1 *New York Times*, "Reginald Maudling, the [British] Home Secretary, defended the performance of British troops in the shooting. . . . But he indicated the pressures over the tragedy by agreeing to an 'impartial, judicial' inquiry." In Northern Ireland itself, the Protestant government is not even offering the sop of an "inquiry" to the oppressed Catholic national minority. In a statement issued on the night of the killings, Northern Ireland Prime Minister Brian Faulkner blamed the organizers of the demonstration and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) for the violence.

The attack in Derry, now referred to as "Bloody Sunday," has been compared to the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in which 72 Blacks were shot dead by South African police and soldiers during an unarmed and peaceful demonstration against that country's pass laws.

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association charged in a statement issued Sunday night, Jan. 30, and reprinted in the Jan. 31 *Irish Times*, "It appears Mr. Faulkner, realizing the people could not be kept off the streets by repressive legislation, decided to shoot them off the streets." The claim of the NICRA, that the Northern Ireland government intended to break up the march, regardless of its conduct, in order to enforce its ban on demonstrations, has been given some credibility by two statements issued prior to the march.

According to the Jan. 31 *Irish Times*, the British army and the Protestant government's Royal Ulster Constabulary warned in a joint statement on Saturday, Jan. 29, that "Experience this year has already shown that attempted marches often end in violence. . . ." The statement insisted that responsibility for any violence would rest "squarely on the shoulders of those who encourage people to

break the law." It went on to say that "The security forces choose the time and place at which to intervene and this policy, which is clearly in the public interest, allows the possibility that marches may, in some cases, proceed for some distance before being stopped.

"This does not, however, mean that participants will be allowed to break the law with impunity."

The second statement, pointed to by the Civil Rights Association and referred to in the Jan. 31 *New York Times*, was by Reverend James McClelland, vice-president of the pro-government Derry Democratic Unionist Association. On Saturday, McClelland explained the cancellation of a loyalist counter-rally planned for Sunday afternoon. The Jan. 31 *Irish Times* quotes him as saying, "We were approached by the government and given assurances that the Civil Rights march will be halted—by force if necessary.

"We believe wholesale riot and bloodshed could be the result of the Civil Rights activities tomorrow and we would be held responsible if our rally takes place. We have also appealed to all loyalists to stay out of the city centre tomorrow."

A general strike, called by the outlawed Irish Republican Army, has already halted the commercial life of Derry, according to the Feb. 1 *Washington Post*.

Meanwhile during an emergency debate in the House of Commons in London, the Labor Party, rather than calling for the immediate withdrawal of British troops, demanded that British imperialism take over all responsibility for maintaining "law and order" from Northern Ireland's Protestant government. The sharpest voice of protest against Britain's occupation of Northern Ireland was that of Bernadette Devlin. According to the Feb. 2 *New York Times*, she told the hushed parliament, "The paratroopers may have had their day on our Bloody Sunday, but we have a saying in Ireland: There's another day coming."